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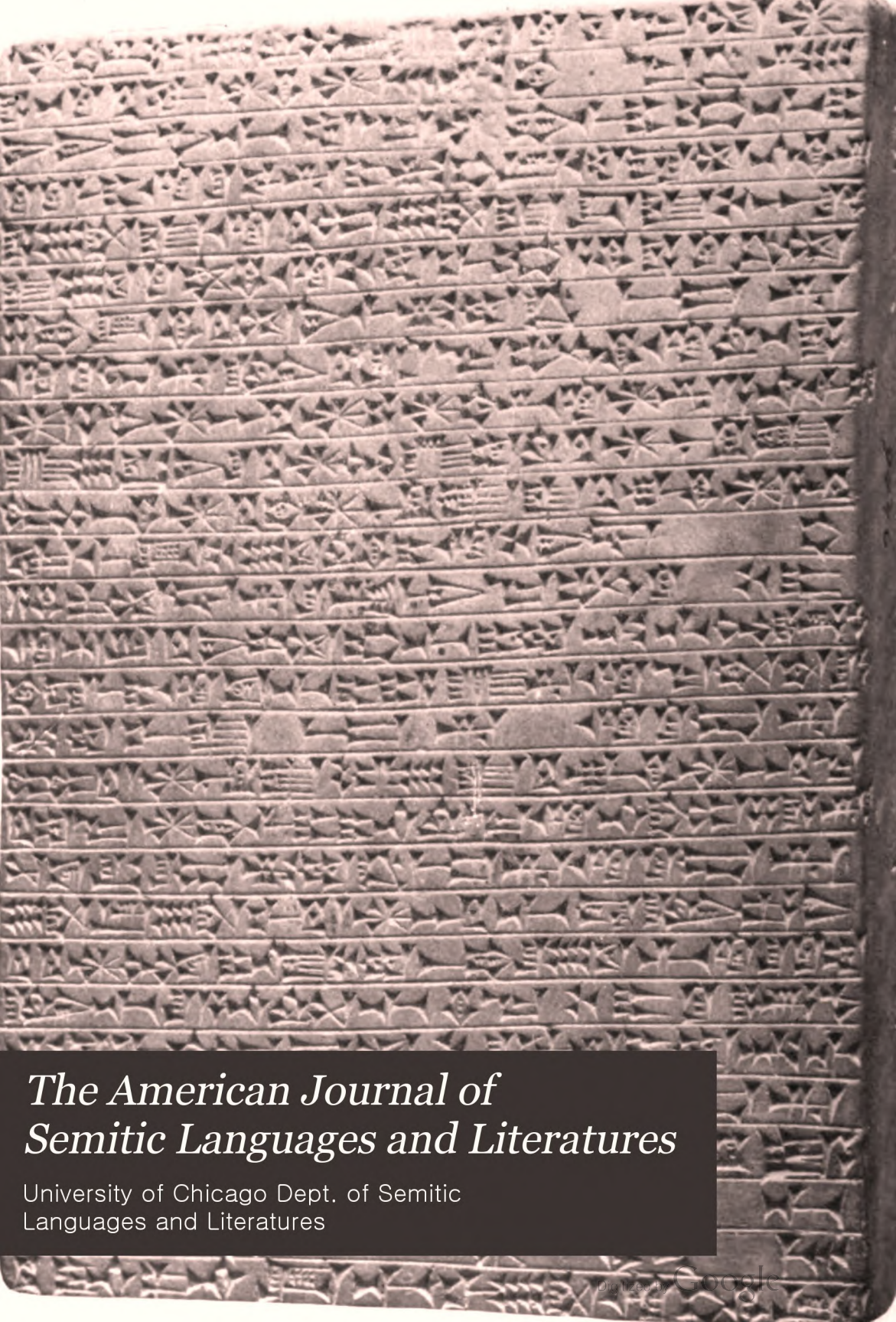

The American Journal of Semitic Languages and Literatures

University of Chicago Dept. of Semitic Languages and Literatures

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VOLUME XII. OCTOBER 1895
JULY 1896

THE AMERICAN JOURNAL OF SEMITIC LANGUAGES AND LITERATURES

(CONTINUING "HEBRAICA")

CHICAGO, ILL.

The University of Chicago Press

LONDON: Luzac & Co., 46 Great Russell St. LEIPZIG: K. F. Köhler's Antiquarium, Universitätsstrasse, 26.

$3.00 A YEAR (Four Numbers). 75 CENTS A SINGLE NUMBER.

Foreign Subscriptions:—*Great Britain, 14 shillings. Germany, 14 Marks. France and other countries, 18 francs.*

The Journal will be discontinued at the expiration of the subscription.

Entered at the Post Office at Chicago, Illinois, for mailing at second-class rates.

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THE AMERICAN JOURNAL
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VOL. XII. OCTOBER, 1895—JANUARY, 1896. NOS. 1 AND 2

THE PROPHECIES OF ZECHARIAH WITH SPECIAL REFERENCE TO THE ORIGIN AND DATE OF CHAPTERS 9–14.*

BY GEORGE LIVINGSTONE ROBINSON, PH.D.,
Roxbury, Massachusetts.

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* A Dissertation presented to the Philosophical Faculty of Leipzig, for the purpose of obtaining the degree of Doctor of Philosophy.

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LITERATURE.

[The asterisks before certain names indicate that the works of these authors are especially valuable from a critical point of view.]

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INTRODUCTION.

THE HISTORY OF CRITICAL OPINION.*

The integrity of Zechariah's prophecies was first questioned about the middle of the 17th century, when Joseph Mede (1653), of Christ Church College, Cambridge, attacked the genuineness of chs. 9–11. His motive was to find, if possible, a satisfactory explanation for the quotation in Matt. 27:9, 10 of Zech. 11:12, 13, attributed by the evangelist to Jeremiah. Accordingly he argued that chs. 9–11 are of pre-exilic origin and the work of Jeremiah. This opened the way for criticism. Hammond (1653), Court-preacher to Charles I., but especially Kidder (1700), Bishop of Bath and Wells, and Whiston (1722), Professor at Cambridge, defended Mede's view, ascribing also chs. 12–14 to Jeremiah; but they were all most strongly opposed by Carpzov (1728), who maintained that only Zechariah could have written these prophecies. After Carpzov nothing more was published against the genuineness of Zech. 9–14 for over half a century, when the question was taken up afresh in England, and about the same time introduced by Flügge (1784), Archidiakonus in Hamburg, into Germany. From 1784 on, the critical opinions of Zech. 9–14 furnish a most striking history.

Archbishop Newcome, Primate of Ireland (1785), inaugurated a new era. He distinguished, for the first time, two separate pre-exilic fragments in chs. 9–14, which he argued belonged to two authors of different times. Chs. 9–11, he maintained, were written before the downfall of Samaria, or about the time of Hosea; while chs. 12–14 were composed between the death of Josiah and the destruction of Jerusalem. The year previous (1784), when Mede's idea was introduced into Germany, Flügge had attempted by means of his anonymous writing to vindicate the quotation of St. Matthew by ascribing the last six chapters of Zechariah to Jeremiah. But Flügge's hypothesis (made like Mede's in the interests of conservatism) was modified by Bauer (1786–90) and Doederlein (1787), who followed the view of Newcome. Against these Corrodi (1792) made a bold stand.

* Modern criticism never disputes the genuineness of chs. 1-8; on the other hand, tradition has never, without exception, denied the Zecharian authorship of chs. 9-14

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He declared himself in favor of the view (first suggested by Grotius, 1644) that these chapters of Zechariah are of late post-Zecharian origin. Between the theory of a pre-exilic origin of these prophecies on the one hand, and the theory of a post-Zecharian on the other, Bechhaus (1796), Blayney (1797) and Jahn (1802) defended the unity of the entire book of Zechariah. Paulus (1805), however, insisted upon a late, post-exilic date, but was vigorously opposed by Augusti (1806) and Bertholdt (1814), who maintained the pre-exilic origin of the chapters in dispute, Bertholdt suggesting for the first time that the author of chs. 9–11 might be the Zechariah son of Jeberechiah mentioned in Isa. 8:2. He consequently assigned these chapters to the reign of Ahaz, and chs. 12–14 to the reign of one of the last independent kings of Judah. With this opinion agreed Gesenius (in his *Commentary to Isaiah*) and de Wette in the first three editions of his *Introduction to the O. T.* (1817–29), and also Forberg (1824); but Köster (1818) defended unity.

The problem by this time had been pretty thoroughly discussed. Eichhorn (1824), who, in the earlier editions of his *Introduction* wavered in his decision, in the fourth edition took a firm stand in favor of a late Græco-Maccabean date. In chs. 9:1–10:12 he found a description of Alexander the Great's invasion in 332 B. C., and in chs. 13:7–14:21, a song of comfort over the death of Judas Maccabeus in the battle with Bacchides, 161 B. C., while chs. 11:1–13:6 were written in the period between, *i. e.*, between the middle of the 4th and 2d centuries B. C. Gramberg (1830) also advocated a post-Zecharian origin for these chapters, maintaining that they were a feeble imitation of older prophecies and an awkward working-over of a pre-exilic prophecy mingled with poetry, entirely disregardful of the time to which they belonged, and having their origin in the last years of the reign of Darius or in the first of Xerxes, 480 B. C. Likewise Vatke (1835) favored this period, explaining the origin of these prophecies in the time of the Egypto-Persian wars, when the Jews were continually having feuds with the neighboring peoples. But the post-exilic theory was not accepted by Theiner (1828), Rosenmüller (1828), or Hitzig (1830), who argued in favor of the reign of Uzziah — a view defended in later times by no one except

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Pressel (1870), and given up by Hitzig himself in his Commentary (1838), in which he grants that chs. 12–14 may be later, probably out of the reign of Manasseh. Defenders of the unity of Zechariah were not, however, wanting. Ackermann (R. C., 1830), but especially de Wette (editions 4–7, 1833 *sq.*) and Hengstenberg (1836), as well as McCaul (1837) and Hävernick (1839) once more advocated unity. Knobel (1837) and Hitzig (1838) on the contrary re-asserted the pre-exilic hypothesis. They were followed by Maurer (1840), and also by Ewald (1840), who, though he assigned chs. 9–11 to the time of Ahaz and preferred the period, "eight to four years before 586 B. C." for chs. 12–14, was not so confident that these chapters were earlier than the beginning of the exile,—a view taught also by Dillmann in his *Introduction to the O. T.* (1894).

From 1840 on defenders of unity were numerous. Burger and v. Hofmann (1841), Herbst (1842), Henderson and Umbreit (1845), Schegg, R. C. and Baumgarten (1854), Moore and Sandrock R. C. (1856), Köhler and Kliefoth (1862) and Perowne (1863) all defended the genuineness of Zech. 9–14. But during the same period, Meier (1842), Herzfeld (1847), Bleek (1852), v. Ortenberg (1859), Bunsen (1860) and Samuel Davidson (1862) argued for a pre-exilic origin of these chapters; whereas, Stähelin (1847), Geiger (1855), and Böttcher (1864), for a post-Zecharian,—Böttcher placing chs. 9–14 (as already Eichhorn in part) in the period of the wars between the Ptolemies and the Seleucidae at the beginning of the third century. On the other hand, five years previous (1859), v. Ortenberg had considered the pre-exilic theory to be established with "absolute certainty"; and argued that chs. 9–11 with 13:7–9 form a unit coming from the hand of Zechariah mentioned in Isa. 8:2, and that chs. 12:1–13:6 with ch. 14 were written between Josiah's death (609 B. C.) and the downfall of Jerusalem (586).

Previous to 1870 the question of unity was repeatedly contested, and of the two divisive hypotheses, the pre-exilic theory with various modifications became the prevailing critical view. In 1875 Diestel repeated the statement of Bleek in 1852, that the pre-exilic origin of Zech. 9–14 is one of the "surest results of the modern investigations of the Bible." T. W. Chambers also (1874)

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in summing up the history of criticism says: "The opinion which referred the origin of the controverted chapters to the time of Alexander the Great or of the Maccabean age is now more generally abandoned, and by later writers on the other side is not deemed worthy of reply." And, indeed, it is noteworthy that for nearly twenty years after Böttcher (1864), no one openly defended the post-Zecharian hypothesis. On the contrary, many advocated the pre-exilic theory, among whom are Pressel (1870), Diestel and Duhm (1875), Reuss (1876), Bruston, Steiner (who, p. 370, comments on the unity of the views of modern criticism) and Graetz (1881), v. Orelli and Montet (1882) and Riehm (1884). Those who defended unity in the same period are Keil (1873), Chambers (1874), Lange and Drake (1876), Pusey (1877), Wright (1878), Bredenkamp and Dods (1879), and lastly Lowe (1882), since whom no one has argued openly the integrity of the entire book of Zechariah. Haehnelt's popular work (1891) is of no critical value.

With Stade (1881–2) the criticism of Zech. 9–14 took a new direction. In the *ZATW.* he reopened and discussed the question at length, concluding that chs. 9–14 were written in the period of the contests of the Diadochi, *i. e.*, between 306 and 278 B. C. Since the publication of his articles the tendency of criticism is toward a post-Zecharian origin of these chapters. As far as we know, Grützmacher's dissertation (1892) is the only really formidable attempt to reinstate the pre-exilic hypothesis since 1882. On the other hand, many have followed Stade's lead. Cheyne (1888), by a process of reasoning similar to Stade's, arrives at the conclusion that Zech. 9–14 were written either in the late Persian or early Greek period, but certainly pre-Maccabean. Kuenen (1889), Briggs (*Messianic Prophecy*, 1886) and Driver (1891) are divided in their opinion, allowing that chs. 9–11 may be at least pre-exilic in origin, but confident that a post-Zecharian redactor worked them over, while chs. 12–14 were composed not before 400 B. C. Delitzsch (*Mess. Weissagung*, 1889) favors a post-Zecharian date, though he is uncertain as to the exact time. Cornill (1891) finds the best historic setting between 301 and 198 B. C. Graetz (1891) suggests the reign of Artaxerxes III for ch. 14; but, on the contrary, maintains the

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pre-exilic origin of chs. 9–13. Staerk (1891) agrees with Stade for the most part in placing these chapters between 306 and 280 B. C., but excepts the fragments 11:4–17; 13:7–9, which he thinks describe in an allegorical manner the events of 171 B. C. from the standpoint of the following year, 170 B. C. Rubinkam (1892) assigns these prophecies as follows: ch. 9:1–10 to the year 332 B. C. when Alexander stood before Tyre, and chs. 9:11–14:21 to the years following 168 B. C., because they witness to the struggle for independence in the Maccabean age. In reference to the history of critical opinion Rubinkam makes the following noteworthy remark: "It is becoming evident that in spite of the great number of scholars who in the past four or five decades have declared for the pre-exilic origin of the chapters under consideration this theory is ceasing to satisfy. Not only those who for the first time are publishing their opinions upon the subject, but also those (*e. g.*, Kuenen) who have firmly advocated the pre-exilic authorship are declaring for a post-exilic date." * This he wrote in 1892. In the same year Wellhausen published his *Skizzen u. Vorarbeiten*, 5. Heft, in which he maintains that Zech. 9–14 is a unit and out of the Maccabean age. Marti (1892) likewise places these prophecies in the 2d century B. C. Kirkpatrick (1892), however, though he partitions the book of Zechariah among three different authors, finds no better or more appropriate period for the historic setting of chs. 9–14 than 485 B. C. Eckardt (1893) endeavors on purely linguistic grounds to prove a much later origin for these chapters. And finally, Kuiper (1894) concludes that they are a unit, having had their origin in the Hellenic period, after the battle of Issus, but before the conquest of Egypt by Alexander, 332 B. C.

From this survey of the criticism of the book of Zechariah it is evident that at present there are three principal hypotheses concerning the origin of chs. 9–14: 1. *The theory that these chapters are of pre-exilic origin*—first suggested by Newcome and Bertholdt, viz., that chs. 9–11 were written shortly before the downfall of Samaria, 722 B. C., and chs. 12–14 shortly before the destruction of Jerusalem, 586 B. C. The principal defender of this hypothesis in the last decade is Grützmacher. 2. *The tradi-*

* Marti also remarks (*Theol. Zeits. aus der Schweiz*, p. 89, 1894): "Doch diese Ansicht (the pre-exilic) erweist sich mehr u. mehr als durchaus unhaltbar."

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tional view, which insists that the book of Zechariah is a unit and was written by Zechariah, the contemporary of Zerubbabel. This view has had no pronounced defender since Lowe, 1882. 3. *The post-Zecharian hypothesis*, which allows of either a late Persian, an early Greek, or a Maccabean origin for Zech. 9–14. This is today the popular hypothesis. In fact most of those who have written since 1882 have advocated a late post-exilic date, thus evincing that the post-Zecharian hypothesis, which in 1874 "was not deemed worthy of reply," is renewing its popularity in the circle of a vacillating criticism.

I.

CONTENTS OF THE BOOK OF ZECHARIAH.

The prophecies of Zechariah naturally fall into two parts, chs. 1–8 and 9–14, both of which describe the present and look forward into the future.

Part I. (*chs. 1–8*) consists of three distinct prophecies delivered on three different occasions: I. *Ch. 1:1–6, an introduction*, delivered in the 8th month of the 2d year of Darius Hystaspes, 520 B. C. These verses having been spoken three months before the following prophecies are consequently a general introduction; but, one of the strongest and most intensely spiritual calls to a deep and sincere repentance to be found anywhere in the O. T. II. *Chs. 1:7–6:15, a series of night visions followed by an appendix*, delivered on the 24th day of the 11th month of the year 520 B. C., or exactly two months after the corner stone of the temple had been laid (Hag. 2:18). These visions were intended to encourage the people to rebuild God's house. They teach severally the following lessons: 1. God's special care for and interest in his people (1:7–17). 2. Israel's enemies have finally been destroyed (2:1–4). 3. God will re-people, protect and dwell in Jerusalem (2:5–17). 4. The priesthood shall be cleansed, continued and made typical of the Messiah-Branch to come (3:1–10). 5. The visible shall give place to the spiritual (4:1–14). 6. The land shall be purified from outward wickedness (5:1–4). 7. Wickedness shall be actually removed from the land (5:5–11). 8. God's people thus purified shall rest secure in him (6:1–8). These eight visions

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are followed by a coronation scene, in which Joshua the high-priest is crowned and made typical of the Messiah-Priest-King whose name is Branch (6:9–15). III. *Chs. 7 and 8, Zechariah's answer to the Bethel deputation concerning fasting,* delivered on the 4th day of the 9th month of the 4th year of Darius, 518 B. C. The prophet's message is divided into four sections by the slightly varying formula, "the word of the Lord came unto me" (7:4, 8; 8:1, 18). 1. Fasting terminates on yourselves (7:4–7). 2. Look at the lesson from your fathers (7:8–14). 3. Contrast the past with the future; instead of a curse Jehovah will send a blessing; instead of evil, good (8:1–17). 4. Your fasting shall be changed to feasting, and many nations shall in that day seek the Lord of hosts in Jerusalem (8:18–23).

Part II. (*chs. 9–14*). This part contains two oracles (מַשָּׂא) without dates (9–11 and 12–14). I. *Chs. 9–11, an oracle of promise to the new theocracy.* This section contains promises of a land in which to dwell, a return from exile, victory over a hostile world-power, temporal blessings and national strength, closing with a parable of judgment brought on by Israel's rejection of Jehovah as their shepherd. 1. *Ch. 9.* Judah and Ephraim restored, united and made victorious over their enemies, are promised a land and a king. 2. *Ch. 10.* How Israel shall be saved and strengthened. 3. *Ch. 11.* How Israel has been punished for rejecting the shepherding care of Jehovah. II. *Chs. 12–14, the victories of the new theocracy, and the coming day of the Lord.* 1. *Ch. 12.* How Jerusalem shall be besieged by her enemies, but saved by Jehovah. 2. *Ch. 13.* How a remnant of Israel purified and refined shall be saved. 3. *Ch. 14.* An apocalyptic vision of judgment and redemption.

II.

THE PRE-EXILIC HYPOTHESIS EXAMINED.

Of the two principal schools of criticism — the one advocating a pre-exilic origin of Zech. 9–14, and the other a post-Zecharian — the pre-exilic hypothesis will be discussed first. This hypothesis, though conditioned by a successful division of chs. 9–14 into two

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separate, independent oracles,* and bound to a literal interpretation of chs. 11 and 14, is worthy of careful examination. We propose to discuss it along three lines,—the historical, the Messianic and the literary.

I. *The Historical Argument, or Argument from Historical Allusions.*—The historical allusions occurring in 9–14 do not all, it must be allowed, point in the same direction. Yet in opposition to the alleged pre-exilic origin of these chapters it is to be observed: 1. *There are reasons for thinking that, in both parts of the Book of Zechariah, the exile is represented as an event of the past, and that the restoration from exile both of Ephraim and Judah, though incomplete, has already been begun.* This is unquestionably true of Part I (*cf.* 1:12; 7:5; 1:16; 8:3; 6:10; 8:13; 8:7, 8; 2:10, 11), but also true of Part II. The exile is treated as a fact. In 10:6 Jehovah declares, "I will strengthen the house of Judah and I will save the house of Joseph and they shall be as though *I had not cast* them off." The captivity at least of Ephraim is here pre-supposed (*cf.* Driver, p. 326; Kuiper, p. 82). But if it be so that Ephraim has already gone into exile, this admission of itself is disastrous to the pre-exilic hypothesis, as no one since Bauer has ever assigned 9–11 to a period subsequent to 722 B. C. Grützmacher (p. 38) fails to explain this passage satisfactorily, having overlooked vs. 2–5, in which the exile and restoration of Judah are described. Again in 9:8 Jehovah promises to encamp about his house on the army side so that no oppressor shall pass through again (עוֹד), from which it is evident that the land of Judah has already been overrun by a foreign foe and the temple desecrated (*cf.* Köhler, and Lowe, p. 84). Further, from 9:9 it is reasonable to infer, inasmuch as a king is promised, that Zion at this time was without a king. An 8th century people would hardly have understood such words. Israel's restoration, on the other hand, is still incomplete, "Turn

* The following summary illustrates the great variety of opinion among the advocates of the pre-exilic school: 1) The opinion that 9–14 are wholly or in part the work of Jeremiah (Mede and Flügge); 2) that 9–11 were written in the time of Hosea, whereas 12–14, between the death of Josiah and the fall of Jerusalem (Newcome, Doederlein, etc.); 3) that 9–11 were written by the Zechariah mentioned in Isa. 8:2, in the time of Ahaz, while 12–14 were composed just before 586 B. C. (Bertholdt, Knobel, etc.); 4) that 9–14 is a unit and written in the time of Uzziah (Rosenmüller, Pressel, and formerly Hitzig); 5) that 9–11; 13:7–9 belong to the reign of Ahaz, while 12:1–13:6 and 14 belong to the period between the death of Josiah and the downfall of Jerusalem (Ewald, Dillmann, Grützmacher and others). This last position is the most tenable, and hence will receive special attention here.

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you to the stronghold ye prisoners of hope: even today do I declare that I will render double unto thee" (9:12). Such words have no sense if not after the exile (*cf.* Wellhausen, *Encyclopedia Britannica*). They describe the reward Zion is to receive for her exile (*cf.* Cornill, p. 198), and can be explained only in post-exilic times. But again, "I will gather them and they shall return" (10:8–10). "Because of the blood of thy covenant I have sent forth thy prisoners out of the pit" (9:11), in the last of which the verb שִׁלַּחְתִּי is a prophetic perfect, showing that Zion's deliverance had already taken place in God's intention, and was therefore certain to follow, but as yet not having taken place. 2. *The alleged authors of Zech. 9–14 dissociate themselves from any definitely named person or any specific event known to be pre-exilic.* If a whole section of prophecy is to be dislodged from its place in the development of scripture and transferred to an earlier date, there ought to be found in it definite historical allusions which would justify the change. But especially, when the contrast between the two periods is as great as that between the times before and after the exile. In the one case we are dealing with nations under independent kings; in the other, with a congregation having only a civil governor who is subject to a heathen sovereign. In the former period, we are dealing with a people falling deeper and deeper into gross sin; in the latter, with a people weak but disciplined by the lesson of the exile. Before the exile, with a people unwilling to listen to the messengers of Jehovah; after the exile, obeying the word of the Lord (Hag. 1:14; Ezr. 5:2). In view of this, therefore, observe in Zech. 9–14 that, whatever may have been the character of the nation, no ruler is specified by the prophet or named. God alone is described as ruler of his people (9:9, 10; 14:9). The only king mentioned is the Messiah-king (9:9). The kings alluded to in 14:5; 11:6 are kings of the past. The alleged allusion to a ruling king in 13:7–9 (Bleek) is wholly unwarranted, as such an apostrophe to the Sword could never have been uttered by a pre-exilic prophet concerning a ruling king then upon the throne. In 14:5, when the prophet speaks of Uzziah, he adds "king of Judah" as though speaking to a late congregation. The king of Gaza (9:5) was a satrap vassal of the Persian empire as were

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the "kings" of Tyre and Sidon, according to Herodotus (8:67). The king of Persia was called "King of Kings" (Dan. 2:36, 37; Ezr. 7:12). It is further to be observed that the "house of David" mentioned in 12:7–12; 13:1 is never described as being in possession of the throne. The fact that the kingly house is closely associated with the priesthood (12:13) and the inhabitants of Jerusalem (12:7, 10; 13:1) as in Jer. 1:18; 2:26; 13:13; 34:19 is no proof, as Grützmacher (p. 36) would maintain, that our prophet is a contemporary of Jeremiah. The same terms might easily be used by a successor of Jeremiah. Furthermore, it is David's *house* only and not any earthly ruler in it of which the prophet speaks. Of it, the house, might well a post-exilic prophet speak, for of David's house the Messiah was to come. The house existed after the captivity and Zerubbabel was its temporary head; but Zerubbabel was only "governor" (Hag. 1:1, 14; 2:2, 21). He was never crowned king, but Joshua (Zech. 6:11). In this connection Driver (p. 330) remarks, "The terms in which the house of David is alluded to, do not necessarily imply that it was the ruling family, though it is true that a preëminence is attached to it (12:7, 8; 13:1); and from 1 Chron. 3:17–24; Ezr. 8:2 we know that the descendants of David were reckoned as a distinct family as late as the time of the Chronicler. The independent position assigned to the house of Levi as a whole, beside the house of David is unlike the representations of the earlier period (*e. g.*, those of Jeremiah, who only names the priests as a class and ranks them after the kings and princes, 1:18; 2:26; 4:9; 8:1–13:13, etc.); on the other hand it would harmonize with post-exilic relations, when the family of David was reduced in prestige, and the tribe of Levi was consolidated." (*Cf.* Cornill, p. 197.) The narrative itself suggests the position of coördinate preëminence which the house of David held after the exile rather than that of absolute supremacy as the reigning house. (*Cf.* Kuiper, p. 85.) 3. *There are passages in chs. 9–14 which, if pre-exilic in origin, would have been obscure and even misleading to a people confronted by the catastrophes of 722 and 586 B. C.* This is seen both negatively and positively. (a) *In the entire absence of any allusion to a specific enemy about to come.* No definite army is named as threatening immediately; no king designated as actually approach-

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ing. There is no mention whatever in chs. 9–11 of an Assyrian monarch who would soon besiege and take Samaria as we find in Mic. 5:5, 6; Hos. 9:3; 10:6; 11:5 *sq.* (*cf.* Am. 3:11; 6:14). Neither does Judah stand in peril from the same as in Isaiah's day (Isa. 7:17, 20; 8:7 *sq.*). Instead of Assyria, Javan is painted as the opposing enemy of the theocracy (9:13), and as yet not raised up or threatening. In chs. 12–14, the enemies that are described as coming up against Jerusalem are not the Chaldeans under Nebuchadnezzar, but rather "all nations" (12:2, 3; 14:2; *cf.* Ewald, p. 389, and Grützmacher, p. 49). In Jeremiah, on the contrary, of whom the author of Zech. 12–14 is the alleged contemporary, the Chaldeans are particularly specified as coming against Jerusalem to take it and burn it with fire (Jer. 32:5; 37:8); and in Jer. 25:9; 27:6 *sq.*; 28:14 Nebuchadnezzar is specially designated as the king whom Judah would inevitably serve. (b) *In the absence of any remonstrance against allying with foreigners* (*e. g., Egypt*) *for protection.* But *cf.* Hos. 5:13; 7:11; 12:1; 14:3; Isa. 7:4, 20; 30:2 *sq.*; 31:1 *sq.* and Jer. 2:18, 36; 37:7, in which it is expressly forbidden. (c) *In the fact that victory and not defeat is promised.* Jehovah promises to shield Israel when Syria, Phœnicia and Philistia are destroyed (9:8). Against Javan "the Lord of hosts shall defend them" (9:14) and "shall save them" (9:16). In the siege of Jerusalem the Lord will "smite every horse with astonishment and his rider with madness" (12:4). "The Lord also shall save the tents of Judah" (12:7), and "he will defend the inhabitants of Jerusalem" (12:8). The pre-exilic prophets made no such predictions (*cf.* Am. 7:17; 8:2; 9:8; Isa. 8:4 *sq.*; 9:14; Hos. 8:14; 9:16; Jer. 12:14; 13:19 and frequently). They could not prophesy thus; and indeed it is difficult to see how any true prophet living before the exile could have uttered such predictions as are contained in Zech. 9–14, promising that Jerusalem would be spared when the fate of Jerusalem was evidently sealed. On the other hand the gathering of hostile armies about Jerusalem in post-exilic times was not uncommon (*cf.* Joseph., XI., 7, 8). (d) *In the fact that temporal prosperity and abundance are promised rather than immediate calamity announced.* In 9:17 the victory over Javan is to be followed by abundance of corn and wine.

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"Showers of rain and grass in the field" shall also be given (10:1). "The people shall increase as they have increased" (10:8). Jehovah "will strengthen them in the Lord" (10:12). "The feeble shall be as David" (12:8). The wealth of the heathen, "the gold and the silver and the apparel in great abundance" shall be gathered and divided in Jerusalem as spoil (14:2, 14; *cf.* Hag. 2:8). But all this is contrary to what actually happened to Israel and Judah almost immediately after these prophecies are claimed to have been delivered. Such predictions are false, therefore, when viewed from the pre-exilic standpoint; or, they are later interpolations (*cf.* Kuenen, Graetz, etc.). For, the contemporaries of these unknown prophets did not predict temporal prosperity on the eve either of 722 or 586 B. C. Amos predicted catastrophe and desolation (5:27; 6:7, 8; 7:2, 4, 9); Hosea, that they should eat and not be satisfied (4:10), that man and beast should languish (4:3); Isaiah, that they should be hungry and oppressed (3:1, 5; 7:24, 25); Jeremiah, that the whole land would become a desolation (25:11); and these predictions actually came to pass. Those of the unknown prophets did not (*cf.* Köhler, II., p. 309; Kuiper, p. 92, and Cornill, p. 197). On the other hand, the encouraging promises of Zech. 9–14 are in perfect harmony with post-exilic times, and especially in harmony with the consoling declarations of Zech. 1–8. In 8:11 Jehovah declares that he "will not be unto the residue of this people as in the former days." In 8:15 he says: "I have thought in these days to do good unto Jerusalem and to the house of Judah." In 1:16, "I am returned to Jerusalem with mercies." In 2:8, "multitudes of men and cattle shall be in Jerusalem." In 3:10, every man shall sit under his own vine and fig-tree; and in 8:12, "the vine shall give her fruit and the ground shall give her increase and the heavens shall give their dew,"—types of the highest prosperity. (e) *In the fact that the people are exhorted to rejoice rather than to fear.* In 9:11, the prophet exhorts, "Rejoice greatly, O daughter of Zion" (9:9). He further promises that the heart of Ephraim "shall rejoice as through wine," yea "their children also shall be glad" and rejoice in the Lord (10:7). But Hosea, the contemporary of this alleged prophet, bids Israel, in view of impending exile, "rejoice not" (9:1). He,

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on the contrary, pronounces woe upon them (7:13; *cf.* Am. 6:1). Amos declares that their feasts shall be turned into mourning and all their songs into lamentation (8:10); "wailing shall be in the broad-ways" (5:16). In Zech. 14:16–19 all nations are represented as going up to Jerusalem to keep the feast of tabernacles—the most joyous feast of the year. On the contrary, Jeremiah's "eyes ran down with tears night and day" as he predicted Judah's solemn fate (14:17). "For in the name of the Lord," he declared, "I will take from them the voice of mirth and the voice of gladness" (25:10). But here again Zech. 1–8 furnishes striking parallels to Zech. 9–14 (*cf.* Zech. 2:10; 8:19; 13:5). Hence throughout these so-called pre-exilian prophecies of Zech. 9–14, there is sounded forth not one clear note of alarm or warning; judgment rather gives place to hope, warning to encouragement, threatening to joy and gladness,—all of which is most inconsistent with the idea that these chapters are of pre-exilic origin, and that their authors, as is alleged, spoke to their age. On the other hand, they are perfectly consistent with the conditions and promises of post-exilic times.*

Certain historical allusions are alleged to be found in Zech. 9–14, however, which point to pre-exilic times. They are the following: 1. *Zech. 11:8, "and I cut off the three shepherds in one month."* This reference is said to fix the date of chs. 9–11. Two interpretations of the "three shepherds" are commonly given: (a) *Hitzig's view*, which identifies them with three kings of the northern kingdom, viz., Zechariah, Shallum and Menahem (2 Kgs. 15:8–14).† But the value of this interpretation is injured by the fact that Shallum alone ruled a full month (2 Kgs.

* Burger remarks (p. 125): "Il faut s'etonner de ce que les critiques modernes, qui ont tant de sagacité et de penétration pour trouver des traces de l'exil dans la plupart des autres livres de l'A. T.; p. ex. dans presque tous les psaumes n'aient pas en assez d'intelligence pour découvrir les allusions nombreuses aux temps de l'exil qu'on trouve dans tous les chapitres de la seconde partie de Zacharie: p. ex. ch. 9, la déliverance des prisonniers, et la mention des Grecs, ch. 10, presqu'en entier, etc."

† Of the score or more interpretations (Bredenkamp says forty) given of the "three shepherds" in Zech. 11:8 these are examples: Moses, Aaron and Miriam (Jerome); Galba, Otho and Vitellius (Calmet); the three world-powers of Daniel—Babylonia, Persia and Macedonia (Keil, Köhler, Kliefoth, Hofmann); Assyria, Babylonia and Persia (Stade); three offices—prophet, priest and king (Ephrem, Theodoret, Cyrill, Delitzsch, Bredenkamp, Kuiper); priests, judges and lawyers (Pusey), Jehoahaz, Jehoiakim and Zedekiah (Qimchi), Antiochus Epiphanes, Eupator and Demetrius (Wright, Lowe), Lysimachus, Jason and Menelaus (Rubinkam, Staerk), Judas, Jonathan and Simon (Abarbanel), Pharisee, Sadducee and Essene, etc.

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15:13); and Menahem reigned ten years in Samaria (2 Kgs. 15:17). This explanation, therefore, does not satisfy the statement of Zech. 11:8 that they were cut off "in one month." Steiner avoids this difficulty by making the one month relative (b) *Ewald's view* (also that of Orelli, Maurer, Bleek, Kuenen and Dillmann), which declares in favor of Zechariah, Shallum and a usurper, who at the same time quickly rose to power and was immediately put down, but who happens not to be mentioned in 2 Kgs. 15:10–13 (*cf.* Grützmacher, p. 47). But this interpretation is likewise met by serious objections: (1) There is no historical proof that any such usurper ever existed after Shallum. (2) It is not certain that the writer is speaking exclusively to, or of the Israel of the northern kingdom. (3) The time-conditions, "one month," still remain unsatisfied. Strack's suggestion (p. 389) that the pretender rose within the month, is also a mere supposition without historical foundation, and is therefore equally unsatisfactory. Accordingly our proposition stands fast, that the author dissociates himself from pre-exilic persons and events. 2. *Zech. 12:11–14 is a reference alleged to fix the date of chs. 12–14.* "In that day shall there be a great mourning in Jerusalem as the mourning of Hadadrimmon in the valley of Megiddon." Hadadrimmon is generally supposed to be the place where Josiah was fatally wounded by Pharaoh Necho. (*Cf.* Schrader, Wellhausen, *Skizz. u. Vorarb.*, p. 192, who considers Hadadrimmon to be the name of a God, and Grützmacher, p. 17). Both accounts of Josiah's death state that it was "at" or "in the valley" of Megiddon where his wound was received (2 Kgs. 23:29 and 2 Chron. 35:22). And the Chronicler tells us that not only Megiddon but "all Judah and Jerusalem mourned for Josiah," that "Jeremiah wrote lamentations over him and the singing men and the singing women spake of Josiah in their lamentations to this day, and made them an ordinance in Israel" (2 Chron. 35: 24, 25). It was a national mourning for a national calamity, the memory of which *long* lingered in the minds of pious Jews. 3. *Zech. 14:5, "Ye shall flee like as ye fled from before the earthquake in the days of Uzziah, king of Judah."* But the earthquake here alluded to occurred at least a century and a half before the date assigned for the composition of ch. 14, and yet

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the event seems to be just as "fresh in the mind of the author" as the mourning in the valley of Megiddon (*cf.* Bleek, p. 391). Rosenmüller saw the force of this argument and so placed the entire six chapters (9–14) in the reign of Uzziah. Observe "as ye fled," etc. Wellhausen, *Encyclopedia Britannica*, weighing this passage, remarks: "Zech. 14:5 is a stronger argument for a date in the Assyrian period than anything cited from chs. 9–11," and in his *Skizz. u. Vorarb.* (p. 194) argues that "whoever is unwilling to admit the force of this reference forfeits the right to protest against the proposition that sometimes other archaic expressions are intentionally found in later prophecies." It need only be added in the case of Zech. 12:11 and 14:5 that, from the pre-exilic standpoint, the argument in favor of the one passage vitiates the force of the argument in favor of the other. 4. *The names given to the theocracy in 9–14 imply, it is alleged, a pre-exilic date for the entire section; e. g.*, in 9–11 various terms are employed which indicate that the kingdoms of Israel and Judah are still standing; such as Ephraim and Jerusalem (9:10), Judah and Ephraim (9:13), house of Judah and house of Joseph (10:6), and "the brotherhood between Judah and Israel" (11:14); in 12–14, on the contrary, only Judah, Jerusalem (12:2), inhabitants of Jerusalem (12:5, 10; 13:1), house of David and house of Levi appear, thus showing that the northern kingdom is no longer in existence and that Judah only remains (v. Ortenberg, Knobel, Ewald, Dillmann, Grützmacher, p. 43). Among these the chief allusion is the breaking of the brotherhood between Judah and Israel in 11:14. By this Grützmacher (p. 48) understands "the breaking out of war between Israel and Judah which took place under Pekah of Israel and Ahaz of Judah" (so Dillmann and others). But in history a union existed between Judah and Israel, as Cornill observes (p. 199), only during the reigns of Ahab and Jehosaphat and their next successors. Others claim that no "brotherhood" ever existed between Israel and Judah, in the sense in which the term is here employed, after the schism of Jeroboam I. And indeed there was no real "brotherhood" in the reigns of Jehosaphat and Ahab any more than in the days of Pekah and Ahaz. The expression is a doubtful one, as it can refer either to the original schism of Israel and Judah in the

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days of Jeroboam, to the captivity of Israel in 722 B. C., or to a later rupture which was to happen after the time of the prophet. The origin of the expression אַחֲוָה (ἁ. λ.) is most easily explained in post-exilic times when Ezekiel's prophecy of the "two sticks" (37:16 *sq.*) was fulfilled, and Israel and Judah were really united in religion and government. This harmonizes with the prophet's aim, everywhere making the interest of Israel and Judah the same (9:10, 13; 10:6; 12:1 *sq.*). To him Israel and Judah are *united*, not merely *coexisting*. Ezekiel's vision had become a fact, Israel and Judah now stood in the relation of a *reunited* brotherhood, "to break which was emblematic," as Delitzsch (p. 218) says: "of the deeper rupture which would one day divide the Jewish people into halves, one holding to the good shepherd, and the other rejecting him." Israel and Judah were both represented in the post-exilic congregation; and as *names*, were both applicable to the post-exilic theocracy for the following reasons: (1) Even before the exile Ephraim became mixed with Judah. Men of Asher, Manasseh and Zebulun, came to Jerusalem to keep the passover of Hezekiah (2 Chron. 30:11). Ephraim also was among them (*cf.* v. 18). Both Israel and Judah joined also in celebrating Josiah's passover feast (2 Chron. 35:18). (2) Among the 42,360 led back under Zerubbabel (Ezr. 2; Neh. 7), about 12,000 were without pedigree, among whom there were doubtless (Oehler) several from the ten tribes whose genealogies had been neglected. Twelve heads of houses, including Zerubbabel and Joshua, presided over them (Neh. 7:7; Ezr. 2:2). (3) From 1 Chron. 9:2, 3 it is obvious that at least five tribes, Judah, Levi, Benjamin, Ephraim and Manasseh were represented among them. Zechariah's call to flee from dwelling in Babylon doubtless brought others (Zech. 2:10). (4) Later, in Ezra's day, the Jews regarded themselves as representatives of the twelve tribes; this is seen in their offering *twelve* goats as a sin-offering at the dedication of the temple (Ezr. 6:17), and in a second sin-offering of *twelve* bullocks for all Israel (Ezr. 8:35). (5) The N. T. mentions Anna of the tribe of Asher (Lk. 2:36), Barnabas of the tribe of Levi (Acts 4:36), and Paul as of the tribe of Benjamin (Phil. 3:5), who in his defense before Agrippa speaks of the twelve tribes as existing in his own day (Acts 26:7). The twelve

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tribes are also spoken of in Matt. 19:28; Lk. 22:30; Rev. 7:4; 21:12, all showing that the *names* Israel and Judah survived the exile, and are therefore appropriate appellations in the mouth of a post-exilic prophet. The idea of the "Lost Ten Tribes" is, as Wright remarks, "a myth of later ages" (*cf.* Wellhausen, p. 183). Again, the expressions "house of Israel" and "house of Judah" are no proof of the pre-exilic origin of these chapters for both terms were used after the ten tribes had been carried away (*e. g.*, Jer. 31:27–31). They actually occur once in Zech. 1–8 (viz., 8:13). These terms, however, doubtless attained a broader signification in post-exilic times. The name Israel, for example, is often used as coextensive with the whole nation (*cf.* Ezr. 2:2, 5, 9, 70; 3:1; 4:3; 6:16, 21; 7:28; 8:29; Neh. 1:6; 7:7; 8:17; 9:1, 2; Zech. 2:2, 4). In Mal. 1:5 the prophet speaks of the "border of Israel," referring naturally to the borders of the entire nation (*cf.* 2:11). Zech. 9:1 *sq.* is (as Mal. 1:1) addressed to Israel, but not to Israel of the ten tribes necessarily, as the author expressly says, "as of *all* the tribes," implying that the prophecies of Ezek. 37:16 *sq.*; Jer. 30:3; Hos. 3:5 and Am. 9:9, 14, 15 were now fulfilled in the *ecclesia* of the post-exilic theocracy. That one of the twelve tribes should be lost was from the first regarded as a grievous misfortune (Judg. 21:36). On the other hand, only as representatives of the twelve tribes could the theocracy expect to inherit a right to the covenant promises. Hence the use of these names in a post-exilic prophecy is nothing unusual or extraordinary. 5. *Zech. 14:10, the area occupied by Judah when the prophecy was written.* The expression "from Geba to Rimmon" limits, it is claimed, the origin of 12–14 to a time prior to the captivity (*cf.* Steiner, p. 371). But, while it marks the boundaries of Judah's territory before the downfall of Jerusalem, it also satisfies the conditions after the exile (*cf.* Wellhausen, p. 195). Schürer says (*History of Jewish People*, p. 189), the extent of the Jewish commonwealth during the Persian domination was probably limited to Judah proper, which in its range corresponded nearly with the kingdom of Judah of earlier days." 6. *The national sins according to Zech. 9–14.* It is argued from 10:2; 13:2–6 that idolatry and false prophecy are represented as the *prevailing* sins of the prophet's time, and that, therefore, these

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prophecies must have been written before the exile (Dillmann, Grützmacher and others). But from these passages we can hardly conclude that idolatry and false prophecy were the *prevailing* sins at the time of writing; for, one of these passages refers to the past (10:2), and the other is clearly a reference to the future (13:2–6). In 10:2, teraphim, diviners and dreamers are alluded to. But the prophet here is speaking of what happened in the past, before the exile, and which now would be a gross sin for Israel to repeat; therefore he exhorts, "ask of the Lord rain," etc., and not of teraphim and idols, for "they have spoken vanity." In 13:2–6, "the names of the idols," "the prophets," and "the unclean spirit" shall, "in that day," be cut off out of the land (just as "theft" and "lying" are to be removed, in Zech. 5:3–11). The prophet is here describing the future, how the land shall "in that day" be purified from sin and from uncleanness. In neither case does the author speak of idolatry as the sin of the *present* (*cf.* Bredenkamp, p. 104). If, however, it be insisted that the author of 10:2 was speaking to an 8th century people, his language stands out in decided contrast to that of his contemporaries. Hosea, for example, describes the idolatry of Israel in his day "as a great whoredom from the Lord" (1:2 *sq.*), for "they sacrifice upon the tops of the mountains and burn incense upon the hills" (4:13). "Ephraim is joined to idols" (4:17). "Of their silver and gold have they made them idols" (8:4; 13:2), yea, "altars to sin" (8:11). "Israel hath forgotten his maker" (8:14), therefore, "O Israel, thou hast destroyed thyself" (13:9). The language of Amos and Isaiah is equally vehement (*cf.* Am. 4:4 *sq.*; 5:4 *sq.*; 8:14; Isa. 2:8; 8:19; 10:11, etc.). But how differently our author expresses himself! He employs nothing but *past* tenses, remarking that "the teraphim have spoken (דִּבְּרוּ) vanity," and "the star-gazers have seen (חָזוּ) a lie," etc. (10:2), and this is the only instance in all his prophecies which hints that he is addressing himself to an idolatrous people. And likewise the author of 13:2–6, speaks as though he were writing in a period when idols and false prophecy* were remembered, but almost extinct,

*The prophets referred to in Zech. 13:2 *sq.* are false prophets: for (*a*) they are closely associated with unclean spirits, with no intimation of a contrast existing between them; and (*b*) in v. 4 it is said that they will no longer "wear a rough garment to deceive." God's prophets were not wont to deceive.

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only the names and altars and groves of idolatry remaining. Hence he declares that the day is coming when even the *names* of the idols shall cease from the land, when every vestige of idolatry (as Hosea had prophesied, 2:19) and all false prophets would be made to disappear from the midst of Israel. This is very different from the repeated strain of his alleged contemporary, Jeremiah, who continually denounced idols and false prophets (*cf.* 10:14; 19:13; 25:6; 32:35). True, there was always danger of Israel relapsing into idolatry. Intermarriage with the heathen always endangered the worship of Jehovah (Ezr. 9:2 *sq.*; Neh. 13:23–26). Sorcery is denounced by Malachi (2:11; 3:5), and, as Cornill remarks, "as ever increasing." False prophets actually existed in the days of Ezra and Nehemiah (Neh. 6:7–14, 21). But in Hag. and Zech. 1–8 these evils are not mentioned. In Zech. 10:2 we have more of a warning than an accusation; and in 13:2–6, a promise for the future. This much at least we tenaciously hold, viz., that idolatry and false prophecy are not treated in Zech. 9–14 as the *prevailing* sins of the age.

7. *The enemies of Israel in Zech. 9–14.* These are Assyria and Egypt (10:10–11), Syria, Phœnicia, and Philistia (9:1–7), and Greece (9:13); the mention of whom, it is alleged, fixes the date of these prophecies as pre-exilic. (a) *Zech. 10:10, 11; 14:18, 19; Assyria and Egypt.* The following claims are made with reference to these passages: (α) *that the use of the terms, Assyria and Egypt, by a post-exilic writer is "impossible"* (Graetz, *Monats.*, p. 284). But this is not so certain. No one, for example, would doubt the post-exilic origin of Lamentations, and yet in ch. 5:6 the term "Assyrians" occurs, most probably intended for Babylonians: in 2 Kgs. 23:29, Pharaoh-Necho is described as going up against the "King of Assyria," whereas Nebuchadnezzar, King of Babylon, is meant (*cf.* Kuiper, p. 82); and in Ezr. 6:22 "Assyria" is employed instead of Persia. These instances render it at least possible that in Zech. 10:10, 11 we have a parallel instance (Vatke). We still speak of "Egypt" and "the Egyptians," though the country has passed under many different protectorates since the time of the Pharaohs. Rubinkam suggests a principle by which these references can be explained, viz., the later a prophecy is, the wider is its scope and the less

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value can be placed on the use of words and phrases. An earlier writer cannot, of course, use modes of speech which have their birth in later times, but a later writer may be easily influenced by the diction and phraseology of a former age. Forms of expression are slow in changing. In the New Testament, *e. g.*, Jesus speaks of coming into the borders of Zebulun and Naphthali (Matt. 4:13). So here in Zech. 10:10, 11, the prophet was representing the future under the forms of the past. De Wette finally decided to explain these terms as "an affectation of archaism" rather than maintain the pre-exilic origin of these prophecies. Hosea had predicted that Ephraim would be scattered in Assyria and Egypt (7:16; 8:13; 9:3, 6; 11:5, 11), and very naturally, a later prophet, in promising deliverance to Ephraim, would expect the same countries to give them up. (β) *It is further claimed that these nations were in the height of their power when the prophet wrote* (Flügge, Bertholdt, Bleek, v. Ortenberg, Grützmacher, p. 39, and others). But this claim, while it has some force, would have far greater weight were Assyria and Egypt the subjects of the prophet's thought. Not these, on the contrary, but Ephraim is the main theme of his discourse. Hence we must not press this reference to Ephraim's enemies too far. They were of minor value in the prophet's mind compared with the immense importance of Jehovah's promises to Ephraim, which he was now commissioned to deliver. Furthermore, while it cannot be denied that Assyria and Egypt are spoken of as still in possession of great power, yet it is equally true that the prophet does not speak of them as active, either as helping forward Ephraim's captivity, or as resisting Ephraim's return; which corresponds exactly with post-exilic conditions, when the power of both nations had been broken. Moreover, in v. 10 the prophet speaks rather of the "land" of Assyria and the "land" of Egypt, out of which Ephraim should be gathered, and in v. 11 he strengthens the hope of Ephraim by contrasting the final condition of these heathen countries with the future prosperity of Israel in v. 12. (γ) *It is further maintained that the special mention of Egypt in 14:18, 19 indicates that Egypt at that time was Judah's special enemy* (Grützmacher, p. 20). But the particular mention of Egypt in ch. 14 is obviously due to the physical conditions of

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that land, with which the author was acquainted. Egypt, being watered by the Nile, needed no rain, hence the prophet is forced to resort to another punishment, viz., plague (*cf.* Hofmann, Hitzig, Köhler, Reuss, Stade, Wellhausen, and others). There is no foundation for imputing to the prophet (as Bredenkamp, p. 199) a moral reason for the special mention of Egypt; for, if the specification lies not in the physical conditions of Egypt, it is difficult to see why Egypt and not Babylon should have been threatened by a prophet who lived, as Grützmacher says, not long before the capture of Jerusalem by Nebuchadnezzar.

(b) *Zech. 9:1–8, Syria, Phœnicia, and Philistia.* The following claims are made concerning the mention of these nations: (α) *That these kingdoms were still "independent" when the prophet wrote, which in post-exilic times was not the case* (Grützmacher, p. 40). But the text does not state that they were independent, as Kuiper observes (p. 80). They are represented as overcome without resistance. On the other hand, it is not inconsistent with post-exilic conditions that these kingdoms then existed in western Asia. Haggai speaks of "nations" and "kingdoms" and "thrones" (2:7, 22), which, being heathen, would be overthrown, and yet in Haggai's day Darius ruled all western Asia and Egypt. The fact of Phœnicia's importance at the beginning of the 5th century is beyond dispute. Ezekiel's prophecies against Tyre and Sidon (28:1–23) closely resemble those under discussion. Syria, Phœnicia, and Philistia always remained the enemies of Israel—either active or passive. Jeremiah prophesied against Damascus and Hamath long after their loss of independence (732 and 739 B.C.) by Tiglath-pileser III. (Jer. 49:23–27). Judgments were also pronounced upon the Philistines both by Jeremiah and Ezekiel (Jer. 25:20; Ezek. 25:15–17); likewise by Zephaniah (2:4–7). After the exile, the Philistines resisted Israel's return (Neh. 4:7, 8) and remained hostile to the Jews and to their religion until the time of the Maccabees (I. Macc. 3:41; 10:83; *cf.* 5:1 *sq.*; Sirach 1:26; Ecclus. 50:26). In short, all these nations were Israel's *hereditary* foes, and, therefore, judgments pronounced against them were always in place (*cf.* Kuiper, p. 80). (β) *It is further urged that 9:1–8 bears a close resemblance to Amos (1:1–2:6) and hence must*

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have been delivered at about the same time (Bleek, *Einleit.*, 6th ed., p. 386). But the alleged similarities between these prophecies consist chiefly in the names of the cities threatened; *e. g.* Damascus, Tyre, Gaza, Ashkelon, Ekron, and Ashdod are in common. The dissimilarities are much greater and far more striking: (1) The order of the nations threatened. With Amos the order is Syria, Philistia, Phœnicia; in Zech. 9:1–8, Syria, Phœnicia, Philistia. (2) Amos predicts the captivity of Syria (1:5); the prophet in Zech. 9:1–8 does not. (3) Amos prophecies that Tyre shall be burned with fire; our prophet (like Ezek. 28:2–5) rather specifies Tyre's "power in the sea," which shows her importance in commerce, and likewise, prophesies against Sidon (*cf.* Ezek. 28:21–26). (4) Amos includes the Edomites, Ammonites, and Moabites as objects of God's wrath, but in Zech. 9:1–8 they are passed over in silence (*cf.* Bredenkamp, p. 84). These were powerful nations in the 8th century B.C. After the exile, on the contrary, they were so weak that Nehemiah, with half of the returned exiles in arms, repelled "Sanballat and Tobiah and the Arabians and the Ammonites and the Ashdodites," who together had conspired to hinder the Jews from rebuilding the walls of Jerusalem, while the other half went on with the work of building (Neh. 4:7–8). On the other hand, a post-exilic prophet might very appropriately condemn the Syrians, the Phœnicians, and the Philistines, because, as Köhler suggests, they lay within the rightful boundary of Israel's territory (Ezek. 20:42; 47:13 *sq.*). (5) Amos includes Israel and Judah among the nations upon whom the Lord will presently inflict judgments (2:4 *sq.*); but in Zech. 9:1–8 they are described as a nation under Jehovah's special care, which shows that Jehovah's attitude toward Israel had changed. (6) Amos gives in each case the reason why Jehovah will punish the nations; but the prophet in Zech. 9:1–8 fails to show any real reason why these nations should be destroyed, except that Israel is returning home, and they are occupying Jewish territory. (7) Amos declares that "the remnant of the Philistines shall perish" (1:8); whereas our prophet promises that those which remain shall be as chieftains in Judah, and Ekron as Jebusites incorporated into the nation (9:7). This is a positive proof in favor of the post-exilic origin of Zech.

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9:1–8 (*cf.* Kuiper, p. 80). (8) Amos describes the moral condition and sinfulness of Israel; but our prophet pictures Israel as waiting upon the Lord (9:1). (9) Finally, Amos distinguishes between Israel and Judah; but the author of Zech. 9:1–8 makes the interests of "all the tribes of Israel" the same (9:1); *cf.* Graetz, *Monats.*, p. 280). (γ) *Again, it is claimed that the storm which breaks in upon the kingdoms of Syria, Phœnicia, and Philistia is the second invasion of Tiglath-pileser in 734 B.C.* (Grützmacher, p. 45). This is substantiated by the mention of "Hadrach" (9:1)—an 8th century word—and the almost perfect agreement of the monuments with Zech. 9:1–8. But the name "Hadrach" for Syria, which appears in 8th century inscriptions, may have been employed quite as well by a prophet of the 6th century. No other writer of the 8th century uses the term. It was doubtless the common Assyrian name for Syria, and as such finds its way appropriately in the mouth of an Assyrian-trained prophet who was speaking to a people accustomed to Assyrian appellations and terminology (*cf.* Schrader, *KAT.*, pp. 326, 453). As regards the invasion of Tiglath-pileser in 734 B.C., described in 2 Kgs. 15:29; 16:9, and confirmed by the Assyrian inscriptions, which accords so perfectly with Zech. 9:1–8, it is to be observed: (1) that neither the inscriptions nor the biblical record mention the capture of Tyre (*cf.* Kuiper, p. 77); (2) nor indeed is Philistia mentioned in the Bible account. One thinks more naturally of Uzziah's time in connection with Philistia (2 Chron. 26:6; *cf.* Hitzig-Steiner, p. 369). (3) Our author sees clearly that the invasion will not affect Jerusalem (9:8). (4) Moreover the degree of the dispersion indicated in 9:11–13, 10:6–11 as the result of the alleged invasion can hardly be referred to the devastation of Gilead and Lebanon by Tiglath-pileser, but drives us powerfully to think of times subsequent to the exile (Elmslie). (5) Finally, Grützmacher's interpretation is based upon the supposition that in Zech. 10:3 the prophet hopes that Judah will be able, with the help of Tiglath-pileser, to come through the war with Israel and Syria, and in the future be able to rescue Ephraim from captivity (p. 46). But this interpretation is both unnatural and unnecessary. It is quite as easy to explain Zech. 9, with Hitzig-Steiner (p. 370), in terms of the reign of Jeroboam II. (*cf.* 2 Kgs. 14:28).

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(c) *Zech. 9:13—Javan, i. e., Ionia or Greece.* "For I have bent Judah for me, I have filled the bow with Ephraim; and I will stir up thy sons, O Zion, against thy sons, O Greece, and will make thee as the sword of a mighty man." This is the most striking historical illusion in these controverted chapters, the explanation of which must determine in large part the date of these prophecies. The following solutions are offered by the advocates of the pre-exilic hypothesis. (α) *That Zech. 9:13 is explained by Joel 4:6, 7* (Hitzig, Bleek, Ewald, Grützmacher, Montet, p. 23). According to this view, the "sons of Zion" are the Israelitish prisoners sold by the Phœnicians to the Ionians, or sons of Greece (Hitzig), who, already too long in slavery, are to be aroused by Jehovah (Ewald) and set free, as they, too, are parties to the covenant of promise mentioned in Zech. 9:11, 12 (Bleek). In this case the author is speaking of Hebrew slaves and of Ionian and Arabian tradesmen of the 8th century, B. C. But on the contrary, in the passage before us, we have to do rather with a godless heathen power, the subjection of which must precede the breaking in of the Messianic kingdom (*cf.* Kuiper, p. 83). The "sons of Zion" are Judah and Ephraim, rather than a small band of Hebrew slaves sold into Grecian or Arabian lands (*cf.* Bredenkamp, p. 99). It is not to be supposed that by a successful insurrection of slaves the Messianic age is to be inaugurated. Such an idea is too absurd (Pusey). The context clearly shows that Zion is the subject of the prophecy (9:9–17). It is Zion who is exhorted to rejoice over her coming king (vs. 9, 10); it is Zion who shall be released from prison (vs. 11, 12), and it is Zion (Judah and Ephraim) who shall conquer the "sons of Javan" (vs. 13–17). Pressel felt the force of this claim and consequently gave up the idea that Joel 4:6, 7 explains this passage. "Zion" is far more probably the post-exilic congregation. But on the other hand, how explain the mention of the "sons of Javan" in the 8th century? Could a prophet of that early age picture Javan of sufficient importance that its defeat would lead to glory? (*Cf.* Bredenkamp, p. 99.) The Greeks are here represented not as a distant and unimportant people such as they would be in the 8th century, B. C., but as a world-power, as Israel's most formidable antagonist, the victory

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over whom inaugurates the Messianic age (*cf.* Driver, p. 326). This is self-evident. Consequently Dillmann (*Commentary on Genesis*, p. 174) frankly allows that Zech. 9:13, as it stands at present, refers to the Macedonian Greeks. And Steiner also admits (p. 381) that "aus dem 8. Jahrhundert eine solche zu begreifen und hinreichend zu motiviren, dürfte schwer fallen." Most defenders of the pre-exilic hypothesis abandon, therefore, the idea that 9:13 is a prophecy of the 8th century, and take refuge in one or other of the two remaining explanations. (β) *That the text is corrupt* (Graetz, Steiner, Strack, 4th ed. p. 410. *cf.* Kirkpatrick who omits the words עַל בָּנֶיךְ־יָוָן for the sake of rhythm). For example, Steiner (pp. 381, 2) on the authority of the Targum, which reads בני עממיא, substitutes for בָּנֶיךְ־יָוָן the reading בְּנֵי הַגּוֹיִם (*cf.* Schlatter, p. 269, "Ueber alle Feinde"), and explains יָוָן as a later addition which crept into the text, as *e.g.*, τοὺς Ἕλληνας in the LXX. translation of Isa. 9:11. But the text as it stands was only possible when it belongs to, or was thought to belong to the post-exilic period (*cf.* Stade, p. 152); moreover, the expression בְּנֵי הַגּוֹיִם would in any case occur more naturally in post-exilic writings (*cf.* Kuenen, p. 413). On the other hand, the substitution proposed by Graetz, *Monats.*, p. 281, is still less probable. He conjectures that יָוָן is a corruption of שמרון Samaria, and compares with it Zech. 10:6, 12. According to Graetz, consequently, Jehovah stirs up the sons of Zion against the sons of Samaria, *i. e.*, Ephraim and Judah against Ephraim, which is naturally absurd. At best any change of the text is a confession that יון is inexplicable in pre-exilic times. For as Kuiper observes (p. 13), "the whole question of changing the text rests upon the hypothesis that the prophecy is out of the 8th century and it loses thus as petitio principii all worth." The other means of escape is the unsatisfactory refuge of the mediating hypothesis. (γ) *That Zech. 9:13 is one of the many post-exilic interpolations in these prophecies* (Dillmann, Kuenen, Driver, Cornill, and others). Kuenen, *e. g.*, finds in chs. 9–11, 13:7–9, "fragments for the most part of 8th century origin, which were afterwards worked over and enriched by a post-exilic though awkward redactor." Certain passages, he says, are confessedly inexplicable in pre-exilic times, whereas others must have had

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their origin when the two kingdoms were standing. Driver and Cornill share this hypothesis. But we are unable to accept of it chiefly because it is too unsatisfactory. Even Kuenen himself allows that it is not wholly satisfying, and Cornill admits (p. 198) that it does not solve the problem. It is plainly evident, therefore, that on the grounds of the pre-exilic theory a reasonable explanation of Zech. 9:13 is practically unattainable. Later we shall attempt to show that this passage has both an occasion and a teaching purpose in post-exilic times.

II. *The Christological Argument, or the Argument from Messianic Prophecy.*—The real value of this argument is too frequently underestimated, especially by those who hold the pre-exilic hypothesis. We maintain that in the Old Testament the Messianic idea, at first only generic in outline, grows and expands and moves steadily forward with marvelous symmetry, continually approaching more and more its ultimate ideal in Jesus Christ; also that the most decisive criteria by which the date of a given prophecy may be determined are *newness* and *unification.* The latter especially, we hold, is the best mark by which to judge the origin of any Messianic prediction. As the perspective shortens by the lapse of time, different lines of previous Messianic prediction are brought together and unified so as to present a new and more complete picture of the Messiah. When this is done it is an evidence of late date. Zechariah furnishes a most remarkable picture of this sort. He takes the pre-exilic ideas of the Messiah, which like so many independent lines seem to move forward and converge, and he unites them all in Joshua the high-priest (3:8, 9; 6:12, 13).* He selects the Branch of Jer. 23:5; 33:15; the Servant of Isa. 40–66; the King of Ps. 72 and 110, Isa. 9:6, and 11:1, and the Priest of Ps. 110 and blends

*There is as little reason for doubting the genuineness of 3:8*b* (Stade, *Gesch. Israels*, II., p. 125; Marti, *Der Proph. Sach.*, p. 85) as there is for arguing that Zerubbabel is the Messiah (Wellhausen, pp. 176, 179). In 6:12, 13, Marti claims with Ewald and Baur, that both Joshua and Zerubbabel are crowned. But (1) this necessitates the insertion of זרבבל after בראש in v. 11, and of יהושע after והיה in v. 13; also the change of אליו in v. 12 to אלהם. (2) Besides, there is no example in the O. T. where a prophet saw in a contemporary the Messiah as already born. (3) Moreover, the prophecy contemplates the Messiah as future (v.12). He is spoken of as a man (v. 12), not as *the* man, and that he is to be a priest (v. 13). (4) Finally the crown עֲטָרוֹת (sing. on account of תְּהִיֶה v. 14; *cf.* Job 31:36) is to be a type, stored away in the temple. Wellhausen's text is self-made.

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them all into one single composite picture of the Messiah and describes him as Servant-Branch-Priest-King (3:8, 9; 6:12, 13); thus heaping upon the high-priest Joshua Messianic terms never before associated by a single author in one and the same person. The same is true of Zech. 9–14. As Delitzsch maintains (*Messianic Prophecy*, p. 215), "the author of Zech. 9–14 cannot be a pre-exilic prophet, for the Christological images move in the path in which prophecy was directed by Deutero–Isaiah; the δόξαι of the future Christ are supplemented through the preceding παθήματα (1 Peter 1:11)." We shall now endeavor to examine the Messianic portions of Zech. 9–14, and for the sake of convenience we shall treat them under two heads, viz., those which describe the Messianic *Person*, and those which describe the Messianic *Times*.

1. *The Messianic Person.* (a) *The Messianic King* (9:9, 10). Different views are entertained as to the position of this passage in the development of the idea of Messianic kingship. Orelli (*Old Testament Prophecy*, p. 244), makes it "the first passage in which the future human representative of the divine kingly dignity is described in his personal characteristics" (*cf.* Riehm, *Messianic Prophecy*, pp. 181, 182; Briggs, *Messianic Prophecy*, p. 185). Ewald (p. 309) is willing to allow only that the Messianic hopes of Zech. 9–11 are "ganz so ausgebildet und gestaltet, ganz so kräftig und so vorwaltend" as the prophecies of Isaiah, and maintains that they are inferior to his in "schlagender Kraft der Rede und lichter Klarheit des Ausdrucks." Graetz (*Monats.*, p. 281) parallels 9:9, 10 with Ps. 72; Steiner (p. 373) with Micah 5:4. Driver, however (p. 327), admits that the priority of Zech. 9:9 *sq.* to Isaiah may be questioned, and remarks with some reluctance that "the portrait of the Messiah-king seems to be original in Isaiah." In examining this passage we wish to apply the tests above mentioned and ask, Is the picture of the Messiah-king in Zech. 9:9, 10 composite? and, Does it imply other descriptions, or add new features to the idea of Messianic kingship? "Rejoice greatly, O daughter of Zion: Shout, O daughter of Jerusalem: behold thy King cometh unto thee." Notice the prophet does not say *a* King, but *thy* King; that is, a definite King, an expected King, a King of whom Zion had heard before. The prophet then proceeds to describe him.

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(1) *He is just* (צַדִּיק), for as justice is an essential attribute of Jehovah, so must it also be the cardinal virtue of the King who represents him. This idea is not necessarily original here. The prophet may very easily have borrowed it from Isa. 9:6 or Jer. 23:5, 33:15, or both. (2) *He is saved* (נוֹשָׁע), Jehovah has delivered him and now he is able to deliver others (vs. 11, 12). This is a *new* feature in the characterization of the Messianic King, quite foreign to the pre-exilic prophets. (3) *He is lowly* (עָנִי). This too is a *new* characteristic, and an expression which, according to Rahlfs, had its birth in the time of the exile. It implies affliction, meekness, humility. (4) *He rides upon an ass.* Another mark of lowliness and a figure quite too graphic for the prophetic mind of the 8th century, B. C. It signifies that he will come in the guise of peace. In the time of the Judges, nobles rode on asses in peace and in war; but after the days of Solomon kings rode on horses. This King goes back to the primitive simplicity of Israel. He is a Prince of Peace, even as Isaiah had described him (9:6), and as the psalmist through the figure of Solomon's quiet reign (Ps. 72). But the difference between the psalmist's picture and that of Zech. 9:9, 10 is this: What was in his time a "pious wish" prefigured in the person of a human monarch, becomes later a "categorical prediction" concerning an actual King, the representative of Jehovah (*cf.* Wellhausen, p. 182). (5) Finally his dominion is described as extending from sea to sea, and from the river to the ends of the earth. This idea of universal dominion is a parallel to that in Psalm 72:7, 8 and Micah 5:2. It completes the picture of the Messiah-King in Zech. 9:9, 10. The ideas of justice, peace, and universal dominion are old. These our prophet unifies, as no single pre-exilic prophet had done, then adds to them other new features which can best be accounted for after the humiliation of the exile. For example, all that is implied in the terms saved and lowly is new. The idea of salvation in connection with the coming Messianic King is in the earlier prophets entirely wanting. The idea of meekness and suffering is found in Isaiah 40–66 but not in connection with the coming king. But in Zech. 9:9–12 the king is not only a ruler of Israel, as Micah pictures him, but also a Saviour. The prophet thus brings for-

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ward the spiritual character of his rule. The picture is composite. Messianic prophecy here rises to the height of its consummation in reference to two things: (1) The spiritual nature of the agent by whom the Messianic kingdom will be set up and guided, and (2) The salvation resident in the king whose dominion is world-wide (*cf.* Orelli, p. 247).

(b) *The Messiah-Shepherd,—rejected* (*11:12, 13*), *pierced* (*12:10 sq.*), *smitten* (*13:7*). These three passages though peculiarly difficult are conspicuous on account of their Messianic interpretation in the New Testament. Zech. 11:12, 13 is interpreted Messianically in Matt. 27:9, 10;* Zech. 12:10 in John 19:37; and Zech. 13:7 in Matt. 26:31. The question for us is, *Did they have a Messianic value to the prophet?* Ewald (p. 390) sees Messianic hopes in 12–14 but explains them as "only the reaction against the unnatural condition into which the cruelty of the Chaldeans had placed Judah against Jerusalem." Others find no personal Messiah in these chapters (*e. g.*, Montet, p. 84; Grützmacher, p. 42; Steiner, p. 343). But this opinion is based on a literal interpretation of ch. 11:4–17, a change of text in 12:10, and a transposition of 13:7–9 from its present position to the end of ch. 11. Accordingly ch. 11:4–17 is a description of the Syro-Ephraimitish war. The idol-shepherd (11:15–17; 13:7–9) is Pekah, king of Israel (Grützmacher, Dillmann), or as Steiner prefers, the last king of Judah (13:7–9). But this is only speculation. Ch. 11:4–17 is a parable, descriptive of the Shepherd of Israel. Not the Jehovah-Shepherd, for he distinguishes himself from Jehovah (11:13), and not the prophet, for in 11:7 the prophet describes a third individual in the first person, but the Messiah-Shepherd, who finds his clearest expression in 13:7–9. Language such as "my shepherd," "my companion," "the third part shall be left in the land and refined," applies best to the Messiah and to Messianic times. The remaining passage (12:10) is likewise

*That Matthew should have ascribed this prophetic quotation to Jeremiah deserves but a passing word as no one any longer claims that Jeremiah wrote Zech. 9–11. Of the various theories devised to explain the difficulty the one usually adopted is that of Augustine, Beza, Calvin, Köhler, Keil, Wright, and most moderns, viz., that it was a simple slip of the memory. Some, however, appeal to the original order of the Major Prophets in the Jewish Canon in which Jeremiah stood first. An error of like sort seems to occur in 2 Chron. 36:22, Ezra 1:1, 2, where Isaiah 44:28 is ascribed to Jeremiah (*cf.* Brown, *Biblical Literature and Exegesis*, 1881–4).

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Messianic, because (1) of the language, which identifies the "sender" with the "sent" (*cf.* Hitzig–Steiner, p. 396); (2) the spirit of grace and supplications; and (3) on account of the purification which follows in 13:1. No mere "Propheten-mord" (Steiner, p. 379) satisfies the entire context, or expresses the prophet's vision. We are constrained, therefore, in spite of the difficulties of the prophecy, to look upon these passages as Messianic, and descriptive of the Messianic-Shepherd. In the first instance he is the *hireling-shepherd* (11:4 *sq.*) who performs his task at Jehovah's bidding; in the second he is the *martyr-shepherd* (12:10) who suffers with Jehovah's permission; in the third he is the *companion-shepherd* (13:7–9) who is smitten by Jehovah's fiat. The order is climacteric,—insulted, pierced, smitten: (1) Shamefully rewarded by the flock; (2) Cruelly murdered by his own people; (3) Judicially slain by Jehovah. The first brings judgment; the second produces repentance and opens a fountain for sin and for uncleanness; the third calls forth Jehovah's mercy and directs it upon the "little ones"—the lesson to be taught being that the Messiah is the Shepherd of Israel. The genesis of this idea is found in the pre-exilic prophets. The psalmist had said, "the Lord is my Shepherd" (Ps. 23:1); Jeremiah prophesied judgment upon faithless shepherds (23:1–8), but neither Jeremiah nor the psalmist represents Jehovah as the Shepherd of Israel, much less that the Messiah was Israel's shepherd. It was left for Ezekiel to picture Jehovah as the shepherd of his people. During the exile when Israel was scattered as sheep without a shepherd, Jehovah promises that he will be the shepherd of his people, and gather his scattered sheep as a shepherd gathereth his flock (Ezek. 34:11–16). Our prophet follows Ezekiel, but goes beyond him: for he distinguishes between the Messiah-Shepherd and the Jehovah-Shepherd (Zech. 11:13; 12:10; 13:7). He describes also the fountain of cleansing (13:1). With him it is no temporary lustration in case of defilement, as in Num. 19, nor a mere sprinkling as in Ezek. 36:25, but a perennial fountain, first described by Joel (3:18). But Joel is content with indicating its effect (3:21) without denoting expressly its purifying character. Our prophet explicitly shows that its purpose is to cleanse from sin. Hence, here

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again the spiritual side of cleansing is turned forward, and we have here consequently the climax of the idea of atonement in the Old Testament. The good Shepherd is insulted first, then pierced by his people. A spirit of grace and supplication is poured out upon the nation and they repent and are cleansed from sin. Finally the divine fiat goes forth and the wonderful tragedy is complete. The whole is a most remarkable drama, bringing us near the scenes of Calvary. In Isa. 40–66 the prophet enclosed his picture of the Suffering Servant in a bright promise of exaltation; our prophet, on the contrary, increased the terribleness of the nation's crime by showing that it was also the decree of heaven. Well may we say with Orelli, that in Zech. 9–14 "the Messianic idea has attained full reality."

2. *The Messianic Times—Eschatology.* Apocalypse marks the last stages in the development of prophecy. The description of the incorporation of the heathen into the kingdom of God in Zech. 9–14 is, in our judgment, the most remarkable in the Old Testament as it presupposes all that goes before. As Delitzsch remarks, "the author takes from pre-exilic relations emblematic features for his eschatological pictures." His models were Joel and Isaiah. In form and contents he follows Joel 3, and like Isa. 19:19; 66:21, 23 he uses figurative language; for he knew that when these predictions should be fulfilled, this mode of worship would be abolished. The idea that the heathen shall be converted to Jehovah is an old one. It is asserted in its simplest form in the Song of Moses (Deut. 32). Rights of citizenship in Jerusalem are acquired by the heathen in Ps. 87. Amos brings about their conversion by means of spiritual subjugation (9:12); Joel through the outpouring of the spirit (2:28); Zephaniah as the result of divine judgment (3:9); Isaiah opens up a vista of wonderful possibilities, but Isaiah's picture of the Messianic future is often clouded and indistinct (11:10–16). He does not discriminate clearly between the inauguration of the Messianic times and the restoration of Israel from exile. But this confusion of the two events might naturally be expected from a prophet living before that event; for, to one standing on a lofty vantage ground, the distant mountain ranges are not always easy to distinguish. On the other hand, the prophets who lived after the exile are relieved

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of this confusion. Their perspective was shorter and their horizon broader. More and more they identified the day of the Lord with the coming of the Messiah. This is especially true of Zech. 9–14. In all these prophecies concerning the unique day which was to come, there is not the slightest proof that the author ever had in mind *the return of Israel from exile.* He was thinking rather of the Messiah and the incorporation of the heathen into the kingdom of God (*cf.* Cheyne, *JQR.*, 1889, p. 79). Haggai watched the nations bringing their costliest possessions to adorn the temple of Jehovah (2:7); Zechariah sees them, as Isaiah and Micah had seen them (Isa. 2:2 *sq.*; Mic. 4:1,2), streaming thither to worship Jehovah and eager to share in the privileges of the chosen nation (2:15; 8:20–23); for, to Zechariah, the glory of the second temple lay in its catholicity. The counterpart of this picture is to be seen in Zech. 9–14. As Wildeboer (p. 414) remarks: "this thought (the incorporation of the heathen) governs the whole of chapters 12–14." (1) A remnant of the Philistines, like the ancient Jebusites, inherit the blessings of Judah (9:7). (2) All nations shall in that day go up to Jerusalem from year to year to keep the feast of tabernacles (14:16–19). This last passage is a most appropriate doxology to all Old Testament apocalypse (*cf.* Oehler).

Montet (p. 91) objects, however, to the post-exilic origin of chapter 14, on the ground that the nations are *forced* to come up to Jerusalem to keep the feast of tabernacles. They are represented as coming in chains, he claims; compelled to obey, "un ordre, un ordre impérieux et dur, un ordre accompagné de la menace d'un châtiment." But the announcement is made simply that all nations shall go up to Jerusalem. It does not say that they *must* go up, or that they do so to avoid punishment. Those who remain behind are the threatened ones. Upon them shall be the plague. Never in the Old Testament are the heathen converted to Jehovah by force. This was not the Old Testament method either before or after the exile. Grützmacher (p. 35) in proof of the same hypothesis, argues that chapter 14 is pre-exilic as all the prophets, from the end of the exile on, only *threaten* the heathen with terrible judgment, *e. g.*, Haggai and Zechariah. This assertion, as is evident, completely reverses the claim of

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Montet, but like it is false. For, while it is true that Jer. 12:15–17; 16:19–21 disproves the assertion of Montet, it is likewise true that Zech. 2:15 and 8:20–23, in which many people and strong nations are represented as eager to go up to Jerusalem to worship Jehovah, even taking hold of the skirt of him that is a Jew, saying, "We will go with you, for we have heard that God is with you," show that the union of the heathen with Israel is a purely voluntary act. So also in Zech. 9–14. God's providence brings it about (*cf.* Cheyne, *JQR.*, 1889, p. 81). We, accordingly, maintain that the prophecies contained in Zech. 9–14, occupy a position of singular importance in the development of Messianic prophecy; that their place is toward the close of prophetic revelation; that they knit together lines of hope and promise concerning the Great Deliverer which before were separate, and add new features to the former descriptions of the pre-exilian prophets. The Messiah-King is not only a just ruler (as described by Isaiah and Micah), maintaining peaceful and world-wide dominion (as in Ps. 72), but he is also *saved* and *lowly*, coming to Zion riding upon an ass. The Messiah-Shepherd not only endeavors to shepherd the flock (as Ezekiel had promised concerning the Jehovah-Shepherd), but is insulted also, pierced and smitten; whereupon, a spirit of grace is poured out (as in Joel) and the nation repents and is cleansed from sin. The Messiah-Shepherd being distinguished from the Jehovah-Shepherd. But towering over all is the prophet's vivid apocalypse of the coming day of the Lord, when through the Messiah's influence all nations will come up to Jerusalem to worship one Jehovah (14:9), and when everything will be consecrated to his service (14:20–21). (*Cf.* W. J. Beecher's idea, that chs. 9–14 may have been edited by Zechariah . . . for the sake of the Messianic doctrines they contain." *Old and New Testament Student*, Oct. 1889, p. 230. Also Elmslie, *Book by Book*, p. 336.)

III. *The Psychological Argument, or argument from parallelisms in thought and language between Zech. 9–14 and the other prophets.**—This argument is often overestimated. It

*The purely linguistic argument as drawn out by Eckardt (*ZATW.*, 1893, pp. 76–109) will be discussed later on, inasmuch as Eckardt makes the "Priester codex," Job, Joel, Habbakuk, Micah (in part), Proverbs, and Psalms the basis, or Spiegelbilder of late Hebrew, thus assuming what in part remains to be proven.

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means simply that there are certain parallelisms of thought and language between Zech. 9–14 and other Old Testament writings which indicate some degree of dependence one upon the other. The question therefore is, did the author of Zech. 9–14 borrow from others, or they from him? There seems to be reasons for thinking that the author of Zech. 9–14 borrowed from the earlier prophets. Stähelin claimed that this was the case; likewise de Wette and others. Stade practically finds no limit to the parallelisms between Deutero-Zechariah and the former prophets, and in our judgment illustrates how vain it is to measure prophecy by line and plummet (*cf.* Kuiper, p. 116). He traces almost every thought of these chapters to some antecedent prophecy and thus deprives the author of all originality. Indeed the author, he claims, was not a prophet but a scribe who gathered up the unfulfilled prophecies of his own day and re-delivered them because of their near fulfilment (p. 162). The author does not even claim to be a prophet, he continues, but simply copies and combines the ideas of the earlier prophets in a most mechanical manner. But Stade proves too much. He damages his case by overstatement and exaggeration. Yet Kuenen admits that he proves the dependence of Zech. 12–14 on the earlier prophets. Bleek, Davidson, Grützmacher, and others, however, hold that the dependence is on the other side. But it seems more probable, with Perowne, that one prophet should have drawn from many, than that many should have borrowed from one. It is not our purpose to press this argument beyond its legitimate limits. We propose to treat it rather as a *corroboration* of what has been proved elsewhere on separate grounds than as an independent argument. We have, therefore, sifted the various passages that appear as parallelisms between our author and his predecessors, and offer the following only as worthy of careful consideration, holding that these are not only confirmatory of our previous conclusions but also sufficient for our present purpose. We prefer to omit doubtful passages, choosing only those which are conceded to have some degree of dependence on each other; for, as Montet (p. 72) observes: "Some passages have a fortuitous and accidental resem-

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blance."* Passing by, therefore, some very possible quotations from Micah (5:9–14; 7:12) found in Zech. 9:10, and others from Amos 8:12, Joel 2:28 and Hosea 2:19 which are closely related to Zech. 12:10; 13:1; 14:8, we make the following propositions:

1. *That Zech. 9–14 shows familiarity with Ezekiel, especially with chapters 32–39* (*cf.* Steiner's admission, p. 369). That certain marked parallelisms really exist between Ezekiel and Zech. 9–14 is not disputed. The point, therefore, at issue is not, Does a dependence exist? but rather, On whom does it fall? (a) *Ezek. 34:1 sq. and Zech. 11:4–17; 13:7–9,—prophecies against the shepherds.* The similarities between these chapters are obvious (*cf.* Grützmacher, p. 26): 1) In Ezekiel the shepherds are described as feeding themselves (34:3, 8, 10) instead of feeding the flock (v. 2); as killing them that are fed and eating the fat thereof (v. 3); as neglecting to bind up that which was broken (v. 4), and not caring for the sick, the driven away and the lost (v. 4.) In Zech. 11:4 *sq.* the possessors of the flock are likewise accused of slaying the sheep and of holding themselves not guilty, and of selling the flock and refusing to pity (v. 5). 2) Therefore, says Jehovah in Ezekiel, "I myself will seek out and feed my flock" (vs. 11–14); and in Zech. 11:7, "I will feed the flock." 3) Ezekiel declares, I will make with them a covenant of peace (v. 25), that they may dwell safely in the land. In Zech. 11:10, on the contrary, the covenant made in behalf of Israel with all peoples is broken. 4) As a result of Jehovah's dealings with the flock Ezekiel twice affirms, "and they shall know that I am the Lord" (vs. 27, 30); in Zech. 11:11 it is also declared that "the poor of the flock knew that it was the word of the Lord." 5) Both prophets are also commissioned by a "Thus saith the Lord" (Ezek. 34:1, 14; Zech. 11:4, 15). These are the most important resemblances. On which side is the dependence? Notice the following considerations: 1) Ezekiel frequently *repeats* the most important thoughts, *e. g.*, the idea of

*Montet (p. 74) rejects all parallels as unworthy of discussion except three: viz. (1) Ps. 72:8 and Zech. 9:9, 10 in which case Ps. 72 is perhaps an 8th century production, borrowed in Zech. 9:9, 10 by a contemporaneous prophet; (2) Isa. 11:15 and Zech. 10:11, this chapter of Isaiah having been written, he thinks, after 722 B. C.; (3) Hos. 2:19, 25 and Zech. 13:2, 9; here he admits that Hosea is borrowed by our author, but that is possible as he assigns Zech. 13:2, 9 to the 6th century.

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the shepherds feeding themselves is found in vs. 3, 8 and 10; so too the mention of the fat and strong of the flock (vs. 3 and 16), the diseased, the sick, the broken, the driven away and the lost vs. 4 and 16); and the fact that the flock are scattered (vs. 5, 6, 8, 12, 21). If Ezekiel were borrowing it is not likely he would so often repeat. 2) Certain allusions in Zech. 11:4 *sq.* imply a knowledge of Ezek. 34, *e. g.*, the covenant broken in Zech. 11:10 is the same as that promised in Ezek. 34:25. And the "in that day" of Zech. 11:11 is explained by "the cloudy and dark day" of Ezek. 34:12. 3) Our author seems to be influenced by Ezek. 34 in other portions of his prophecies: *e. g.*, the expression "because there was no shepherd" (Ezek. 34:8) occurs in Zech. 10:2; also the "he-goats" עַתּוּדִים of Ezek. 34:17 in Zech. 10:3. And the declaration of Ezekiel, "I will set up one shepherd over them" (34:23) gives rise to the prediction, "there shall be one Lord and his name one" (Zech. 14:9). *Cf.* also Ezek. 34:28 and Zech. 14:11; Ezek. 34:12 and Zech. 11:11. 4) Zech. 11:4–17 is an allegory, and allegorical language always implies that the facts are familiar from which the lesson to be taught is drawn. The allegory clothes abstract principles in the imagery of a fictitious tale; but in order to understand it, the facts must be known before the mind can appreciate the allegory. (*Cf.* Delitzsch in *Rudelbach u. Guericke's Zeits.*, 1851, p. 309.) This was the case, as we conceive it, with Zech. 11:4–17. The prophet portrayed events to Israel which had long been the subject of thought and consideration. Ezekiel's prophecies were now fulfilled. The two staves of Ezek, 37:16 were long familiar. Israel had rejected the shepherding care of Jehovah and been punished for it, and this it is which furnishes the basis of the allegory. (*Cf.* Kuiper, p. 113, and Stade, *ZATW.*, I., p. 68 *sq.*) (b) *Ezek. 28:1 sq., and Zech. 9:2 sq.—denunciations against Tyre and Sidon.* 1) Thrice Ezekiel speaks of Tyre as very wise (28:3, 7, 12) also in Zech. 9:2 "though she be very wise." 2) Both prophets speak of her power in the sea (Ezek. 28:4; Zech. 9:4), and of her abundance of gold and silver (Ezek. 28:4; Zech. 9:4). 3) Both declare that God will cast her out (Ezek. 28:16, 17; Zech. 9:4) and that she shall be burned with fire (Ezek. 28:18; Zech. 9:4), 4) Ezekiel further declares that "there shall be *no more* a pricking

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brier unto the house of Israel nor any grieving thorn of all that are around about them" (28:24); in Zech. 9:8 also, "I will encamp about my house because of the army, and *no more* shall any oppressor pass through them." 5) Ezekiel further promises that the house of Israel shall be gathered from the people among whom they are scattered and shall dwell in their own land (28:25, 26); in Zech. 9:2 *sq.*, the prophet describes the preparation of the land for the return of the nation and the coming of their king. These coincidences are in themselves singularly remarkable, and the more so inasmuch as in each case the prophets follow the same order of thought. But the important inquiry again is, which prophecy is the older? Doubtless Ezekiel, for as Stade shows (I., p. 46) the section in Zech. 9:1–8 is built up not only of Ezekiel but also of Amos (*cf.* Am. 1:6–10); and this apparently is so convincing to Grützmacher that he does not deny the validity of Stade's claim. (*Cf.* Kuiper, p. 76).* (c) *Ezek. 37 and 38,—Ephraim and Judah restored and united.* This section of Ezekiel's prophecies seems to give a colouring to Zech. 9–14. The great governing thoughts in these chapters are the following: 1) Ephraim and Judah shall be brought back from exile and united as one nation (37:12, 16 *sq.*). 2) They shall be gathered, and afterwards dwell safely together in the land of Israel (38:8, 11, 14). 3) There they shall have one king (37:22, 24). 4) In that day their enemies shall come up against them but Jehovah will wonderfully deliver them (38:14, 18, 20) and send confusion and pestilence upon their enemies (38:21, 22). 5) Finally, the Lord shall be magnified and sanctified (38:23). How completely these thoughts are reëchoed in Zech. 9–14 is almost beyond dispute: 1) Both Ephraim and Judah are represented as already restored, or in the act of being restored (Zech. 9:10, 13; 10:6, 7). 2) Also as already occupying a part at least of their possessions, and as dwelling securely (9:10 *sq.*, 14:11). 3) And as having in future but one king (14:9). 4) Yet as attacked by hostile nations coming up against them (12:2 *sq.*, 14:2 *sq.*), but as delivered by the wonderful intervention of Jehovah (12:4 *sq.*, 14:3 *sq.*

* Dillmann (*Comm. on Isa.* p. 210) assigns the prophecy against Tyre in Isa. 23:15–18 to a time after the return from exile, though he places Zech. 9:2–4 in the 8th century B.C. But it is difficult to see why he should shift an Isianic prophecy concerning Tyre to the period of Zechariah, and insist that that of Zech. 9:2–4 belongs to the period of Isaiah.

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cf. especially Ezek. 38:20 and Zech. 14:4); on the other hand, all the enemies of Israel are described as confused and plagued by Jehovah (14:12, 13, 17). 5) Finally, the Lord is magnified by the universal hallowing of everything to his name (14:20, 21). The resemblances are perfect; the only difference being that the prophecies of the latter are an advance upon the former. Zech. 9–14 is a fulfilment of Ezek. 37 and 38. (*Cf.* Hitzig, *Stud. u. Krit.*, 1830). The similarities in language are also noteworthy. Little more could be expected from our prophet had he actually committed these chapters of Ezekiel to memory and written under their inspiration. Grützmacher (p. 27), who reverses the dependence of these authors, fails to show in what respect Zech. 14 must have been the basis of Ezek. 38:17 and 39:8. (d) *Other characteristic expressions common to Ezekiel and Zech. 9–14, whose priority from the passages themselves is uncertain:* 1) Ezek. 5:2–12, in which the prophet describes how the people of Jerusalem shall perish, one-third by pestilence and famine, another third by sword, and another in exile; the lesson being illustrated by the prophet's dividing his hair, at the commandment of the Lord, into three parts; in Zech. 13:8, 9 also, two-thirds of the people are spoken of as doomed to be cut off, while a third part is left as a remnant in the land. The similarities of these two prophecies are observed and emphasized by Köster, de Wette, Hävernick, Hengstenberg and Stade. 2) In Ezek. 38:15 the expression "riding upon horses," רֹכְבֵי סוּסִים, occurs also in Zech. 10:5. Grützmacher (p. 27) attempts to show Ezekiel's dependence on Zechariah here; but *cf.* Stade I., p. 66,—his allusion to Ezek. 23:6, 12. 3) In Ezek. 36:26 a "new spirit" is promised, which in 39:29 is poured out upon the house of Israel. This finds a parallel on a much higher spiritual plane in Zech. 12:10. 4) The thought of cleansing is coupled in both prophets with that of the outpouring of the Spirit (Ezek. 36:25–28; Zech. 13:1). Stade finds also in Ezek. 47:1 a basis for Zech. 13:1. (So Köster, de Wette, Kuiper, Hävernick and Lowe; Wellhausen in 36:25). *Cf.* the words "sin" and "uncleanness" in Zech. 13:1 with Ezek. 36:17, 23. 5) The expression "every one against the hand of his neighbour," is common to both (Ezek. 38:21; Zech. 14:13). 6) "If not, forbear" (Ezek. 2:7; 3:11, 27 and Zech. 11:12). 7) "Roaring of young lions" (Ezek. 19:3 *sq.*

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and Zech. 11:3, *cf.* Jer. 25:36–38; 49:19). 8) "No stranger uncircumcised in heart nor uncircumcised in flesh shall enter into my sanctuary" (Ezek. 44:9), an observation closely resembling, though only approximating the thought contained in Zech. 14:21, "no more shall there be the Canaanite in the house of the Lord." 9) Also the formula, "and they shall be my people, and I will be their God" (Ezek. 11:20, *cf.* 30:25, 26; 34:30, 31), finds its counterpart in Zech. 13:9, "it is my people," and "the Lord is my God." All these resemblances, however inconclusive each one may be when taken by itself, help to confirm the conclusion that our prophet was familiar with the prophecies of Ezekiel, and therefore, that he lived after the exile (*cf.* Wildeboer, p. 413).

2. *Zech. 9–14 exhibits acquaintanceship with Jeremiah.* The close relation of these prophecies to each other is, as Grützmacher (p. 25) allows, "unmistakable." This is especially true of Zech. 9–11,—the more important section here, inasmuch as the author of chs. 12–14 is an alleged contemporary of Jeremiah. The parallels to be considered are the following: (a) *Jer. 25:34–38, —judgment upon the shepherds, cf. Zech. 11:1–3.* Between these passages there is "an indubitable contact," Grützmacher (p. 26) makes Zech. 11:1–3 the original, however, because, as he thinks, it is a literal description of the invasion of Tiglath-pileser, whereas Jeremiah's is rather a modified description of this passage in the form of an allegory. But the contexts of both passages are opposed to this interpretation. That of Jer. 25:34–38 does not easily admit of an allegory, while that of Zech. 11:1–3, on the contrary, invites it. In Jer. 25 the prophet is addressing words of plain and simple, yet forcible warning to the shepherds of Jerusalem; whereas in Zech. 11:1–3, if the description is literal, as is maintained, the invading Assyrians are described as employed chiefly in devastating the country, felling cedars, spoiling forests, destroying the oaks of Bashan, etc. The true explanation of these two related passages, according to our opinion, is this: Jer. 25:34–38 is a simple description of Judah's impending calamity; whereas, Zech. 11:1–3 is an allegorical introduction to the allegory par excellence which follows in verses 4–17. Both together (*i. e.*, Zech. 11:1–3 and 4–17) describe the solemn but historical past of Israel and Judah. The marks of Zechariah's posteriority

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are found principally in the context (*cf.* Jer. 25:34; 12:3, and צאן הטרגה of Zech. 11:4, 7). In Jeremiah the days of Israel's slaughter are accomplished; in Zechariah, on the other hand, Israel is admonished to learn a lesson from that slaughter. (b) *Jer. 23:1 sq.—Israel's promised restoration. Cf. especially Zech. 10:3–12.* In both passages, it is announced that the evil shepherds shall be punished and that scattered Israel shall be gathered (*cf.* Grützmacher, p. 26); but with this difference, viz., that in Zech. 10:6, 8, Israel is already gone into captivity while those remaining in exile are exhorted to return home. The picture of the Messianic King in Jer. 23:5 is not nearly so vivid or complete as that in Zech. 9:9, 10 (*cf.* Jer. 17:25; 22:4, עני). Again, the promise in Jer. 23:3 to gather the remnant of Israel out of all countries (*cf.* והשבותים) is far less definite than that of Zech. 10:6, "I will strengthen the house of Judah and I will save the house of Joseph and they shall be as though I had not cast them off." And also, Jer. 23:3, "they shall be fruitful and increase," describes, according to our view, an earlier stage in the history of Israel than Zech. 10:8, "and they shall increase as they have increased." (*Cf.* also Jer. 23:8 and Zech. 10:8, 10; Jer. 23:33 *sq.* and Zech. 9:1; 12:1). (c) *Other expressions characteristic of Jeremiah found but once in Zech. 9–11 are the following:* 1) Three times Jeremiah uses the technical phrase, "the pride of Jordan," גְּאוֹן הַיַּרְדֵּן (12:5; 49:19; 50:44); the same metaphor occurs outside of Jeremiah only once, viz., in Zech. 11:3 (*cf.* Grützmacher, p. 26). The expression is of late origin, probably out of the exile (Köster, p. 80). 2) The use made of שָׁלַח "casting away in contempt (Jer. 26:23, 36:30) may well have suggested the phraseology of Zech. 11:13. 3) The word זָרַע "sow," employed in a good sense in Jer. 31:27 (but also in Ezek. 36:9, *cf.* Hos. 2:25), finds a corresponding use in Zech. 10:9. 4) The contrast also between the teraphim and soothsayers and the power of Jehovah to give rain stands out strikingly in Jer. 14:22, *cf.* 29:8 *sq.*, but also in Zech. 10:2. 5) Stade finds another parallel between Jer. 46:10, "the sword shall devour and it shall be satiate and made drunk with their blood," and Zech. 9:15, "and they shall devour and drink, etc."

In Zech. 12–14 also, certain passages occur which show the

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author's dependence on Jeremiah. Thus in Zech. 14:10, "unto the tower of Hannaneel" and "the gate of the corner," are measurements taken from Jer. 31:38, as v. 40 clearly indicates. And in Zech. 13:7 the phrase, "upon the little ones," is borrowed from Jer. 48:4 (*cf.* 14:3 הצעירים). And the phrase, "all the families," frequently used in Zech. 12:12–14 is found in different parts of Jeremiah (1:15; 2:4; 10:25; 25:9; 31:1; 33:24).

3. *Close resemblances exist between Zech. 9–14 and Isa. 40–66.* The value of this point is enhanced by the fact that all those who place Zech. 9–14 before the exile, urge an exilic or post-exilic date for Isa. 40–66. We are thus dealing with a prophecy written in their opinion long after the prophecies under discussion, and therefore in no sense the basis of chs. 9–14.* That a close relation actually exists between these two prophecies in thought and language is openly admitted (Ewald, v. Ortenberg, Hengstenberg, Stade, Grützmacher, and others). Here again, therefore, the important inquiry to be made is, on whose side does the dependence rest? To us it is sufficiently clear that the author of Zech. 9–14 depended on Isa. 40–66 not only for various characteristic expressions, but also for his eschatological pictures. For example, (*a*) the promise in Zech. 9:11, "I have sent forth thy prisoners out of the pit wherein is no water," reminds one of *four* similar passages in Isa. 40–66, viz., 42:22, "they are hid in prison-houses" (*cf.* v. 7); 49:9, "say to the prisoners, go forth"; 51:14, "the captive exile hasteneth that he may be loosed and that he should not die in the pit"; and 61:1, "to proclaim liberty to the captives and the opening of the prison to them that are bound." Bleek acknowledges the resemblance here. Grützmacher passes it over in silence. (*b*) In Zech. 9:12 the promise occurs, "I will render double unto thee" (*i. e.*, double blessing). This form of expression is somewhat rare, but it occurs in Isa. 40–66 twice; once in 61:7, "for your shame ye shall have double, in their land they shall possess double: everlasting joy shall be unto them;" and in 40:2, "Jerusalem has received double for all her sins." (*Cf.* Jer. 16:18.) Dillmann explains the dependence of Zech. 9:12 on Isa. 40:2 and 61:7 in this instance by making

* The unity of Isa. 40–66 is not necessarily assumed here as the passages employed in our argument are usually if not universally allowed to be of exilic or early post-exilic origin, (*Cf.* Schian's *Ebed-Jahwe Lieder*, Dissert.; Cornill's *Einleit.*; Duhm's *Jes.*, and Cheyne's *Introduction to Isaiah.*)

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Zech. 9:12 "eine spätere Ueberarbeitung," but without sufficient reason. (*c*) In Zech. 12:1 Jehovah is described as "He who stretcheth forth the heavens and layeth the foundations of the earth and formeth the spirit of man within him." This description of Jehovah is an idea frequently found in Isa. 40–66; *e. g.*, 51:13, Jehovah is the Creator, "who stretched forth the heavens and laid the foundations of the earth נטה שמים וגו׳; in 44:24, "that stretcheth forth the heavens alone, that spreadeth abroad the earth by myself." (*Cf.* 45:12; 40:21, 22; 42:5; 48:13; 51:16.) Here again it is evident that our prophet is the borrower, Grützmacher (p. 28) is unable to decide. (*d*) In Zech. 12:2 Jerusalem is spoken of as "a cup of trembling," סַף רַעַל. This is a characteristic expression of Isa. 40–66. Jeremiah speaks of a "cup of trembling." In Isa. 51:17b, the prophet declares, "thou hast drunken the dregs of the cup of trembling;" "even the dregs of the cup of trembling" (v. 22, כּוֹס רַעַל). (*e*) Stade finds a further foundation for the announcement in Zech. 9:9, "Behold thy king cometh," in Isa. 62:11, "Behold, thy salvation cometh." He also parallels the attributes of the Messianic King, "just" and "saved" (Zech. 9:9), with the attributes of Jehovah in Isa. 45:21 (*cf.* 61:10; Jer. 17:25; 22:4). (*f*) The eschatological resemblances between Isa. 40–66 and Zech. 9–14 are particularly striking (*cf.* Grützmacher, p. 28). The vision of our prophet that "all nations shall come up to Jerusalem" to worship, is a thought frequently occurring in Isa. 40–66; *e. g.*, 55:5, "and nations that knew not thee shall run unto thee;" 56:6, 7, "mine house shall be a house of prayer for all people" (*cf.* 66:18-20, 23). All these are reëchoed in Zech. 14:16 *sq.* Further, a curse is pronounced by our prophet upon those who refuse to come up to keep the religious observances of the sanctuary: "their flesh shall consume away and their eyes and their tongues shall consume away" (Zech. 14:12; *cf.* Isa. 66:24); and the nature of the punishment described is similar. In Zech. 14:12, 13 plagues of disease are followed by tumult, and that by internecine war; in Isa. 60:12 they utterly waste away and perish out of sight. Lastly, in both prophecies a transition is made to holiness. In Zech. 14:20, 21, the prophet describes a time when holiness shall be inscribed on everything, even on the bells of the

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horses; in Isa. 61:6; 62:12, the prophet likewise describes a time when the people shall be as holy as the priests, and when they shall be called the "ministers of God." Just here lies an important distinction between these prophecies, which favors a much later origin for Zech. 14, viz., the broader catholicity and more extended universalism of our prophet which enables him to rise above Hebrew prejudice, and picture even the heathen serving as priests, offering sacrifice in the ordinary cooking vessels of Jerusalem to the Jehovah of Israel.

Thus in these parallelisms between Zech. 9–14, on the one hand, and Isa. 40–66, Jeremiah and Ezekiel on the other, we have the strongest possible *corroboration* of the late origin of Zech. 9–14. Every great section of Zech. 9–14 shows familiarity with the older prophets. Their thoughts were not infrequently our author's thoughts, their order his order, and their phraseology his phraseology. Moreover, great sections of their writings taken as a whole evidently gave rise to paragraphs of Zech. 9–14 taken as a whole (*cf.* especially Isa. 66 with Zech. 14 and Ezek. 34 with Zech. 11:4 *sq.*).

Here then in conclusion are our reasons for arguing a post-exilic date for Zech. 9–14. Whatever else may be shown later on concerning the unity of chs. 9–14, we believe that it has been made reasonably clear, and on grounds of internal evidence alone, that the last six chapters of Zechariah are of post-exilic origin. For, as we have shown, the "historical allusions" are consistent with a late date, the development of "Messianic prophecy" in the O. T. favors it, and the literary and psychological relations of our author to the former prophets corroborate it. Hence, without pressing unduly our claims, we submit that there are good critical reasons for assigning these disputed prophecies to a post-exilic date. We shall next endeavor to determine in what particular period after the exile they had their origin.

III.

THE POST-ZECHARIAN HYPOTHESIS EXAMINED.

If our previous conclusions are accepted, the problem before us now is to decide in which period or periods of post-exilic times these prophecies of Zech. 9–14 find their best historic setting.

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Paucity of details in the history of Zechariah's own age has given room for different theories. Many authorities favor a post-Zecharianic date, the most important of whom in modern times are Stade, Wellhausen, Kuenen, Marti, Kautzsch, Cornill, Cheyne, Delitzsch, Kirkpatrick, Rubinkam, Driver, Staerk, Wildeboer, Kuiper and Eckardt. They employ the same critical methods as those whose views we have just discussed, but arrive at widely divergent results. Even among themselves there is a marked difference of opinion. For example, Wellhausen and Marti, representing the extreme view of this school, place these chapters in the 2d century B. C. Wildeboer assigns the date ±280; Kautzsch, 301; Stade and Cornill, 306–278; Kuiper, the period immediately following 332. Rubinkam and Staerk argue for double authorship—one author having lived, as is alleged, in the time of Alexander the Great, the other in the Maccabean age. Kuenen finds pre-exilic kernels in 9–11; 13:7–9, which were worked over after the exile, but maintains that the whole is pre-Grecian. Graetz suggests for ch. 14 the reign of Artaxerxes III. Delitzsch assigns the whole to the time just before Ezra and Nehemiah or not later than 458 B. C., while Kirkpatrick, though advocating a double authorship, finds no period so suitable as the first year of the reign of Xerxes, 485 B. C. From this ascending scale of individual opinion, therefore, it is evident that there is a gradual approach toward the period in which Zechariah himself lived, viz., the reign of Darius Hystaspes, 521 *sq.* B. C. The balance of opinion, however, is in favor of the period after 333; and hence the prime question to be discussed here is, Are these prophecies of Persian or of Greek origin? Or, more definitely, in view of the dark century between Ezra and Nehemiah and Alexander the Great, of which so little comparatively is known, Are these prophecies early Persian or Graeco-Maccabean?

In examining the conclusions of those who maintain a post-Zecharian origin of these chapters we need constantly to distinguish sharply between the grounds advanced in support of a *post-exilic* and those which argue a *post-Zecharian* date. The former we may for the most part accept; the latter we are bound first to examine. A very large proportion of Stade's extended discussion, for example, proves only that Zech. 9–14 is *post-exilic.*

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With this we are no longer concerned. We are concerned, however, with the reasons given by him and others for assigning these oracles to the Graeco-Maccabean age. And to these, therefore, we turn our attention next. They are of two sorts, linguistic and historical.*

I. *The Argument from Language and Style.*—This argument is weakened unfortunately by two facts: (1) the fact that the author of Zech. 9–14 depends so largely on older prophecies for his thoughts, and consequently more or less for his language; and (2) the fact that these prophecies are very brief, at best not exceeding in length an ordinary newspaper article. Hence, the danger of pressing the linguistic argument too far. Eckardt, who (*ZATW.*, p. 76 *sq.*, 1893) presents a most admirable discussion of the use of language in Zech. 9–14, arrives at the conclusion that these prophecies could have been written "only in Grecian times." This conclusion we propose to examine.

It is now generally agreed† that the most important marks of the late origin of a Hebrew writing are Aramaisms; *scriptio plena* וֹ and ִי; אֲנִי instead of אָנֹכִי; the abstract endings וֹן and ָן; the *nota accusativi* אֵת with suffixes; the omission of the article, or its position between the substantive and its adjective; the clumsy repetition of words and groups of words; and the infinitive absolute as a means of setting forth a finite verb.

1. *Aramaisms in Zech. 9–14.* Our author is remarkably free of Aramaic expressions. Such words, *e. g.*, as זְמָן for עֵת or שֶׁ for אֲשֶׁר, frequently found in the latest literature of the O. T., are entirely wanting in chs. 9–14. Even the few words which do occur, whose roots are often found in later Aramaic, Syriac and Arabic, indicate only the author's Aramaic *tendencies;*

* We set aside any objections which the history of the Canon of the Prophets opposes to the theory that an O. T. prophecy could possibly be as late as the period of the Maccabees. Inasmuch as the term "Canon" being not of Jewish but of Christian origin, it is still an open question whether additions may not have been made after 250 B. C.—the date agreed upon as to the formation of the *prophetic* portion of the O. T. (*cf.* H. E. Ryle, *Canon of the O. T.*, p. 109; Eichhorn, *Introduction to the O. T.*, p. 79; F. Buhl, *Canon and Text of the O. T.* (Eng. Trans.), p. 11; X. Koenig, *Essai sur la Formation du Canon de l'ancien testament*, p. 50; Paris, 1894; Kautzsch, *Die heil. Schrift des A. T.*, *1894*).

† *Cf.* the signs of late Hebrew given by Eckardt, *ZATW.*, 1893, pp. 76–109; Kautzsch, *Hebräische Grammatik*, 25th ed., 1889; Buhl, *Heb.-Aram. Handwörterbuch in Verbindung mit Proff. Socin und Zimmern*, 12th ed., 1895; Holzinger, "Sprachcharacter u. Abfassungszeit des Buches Joel" (*ZATW.*, p. 89 *sq.*, 1889); Giesebrecht, "Zur Hexateuchkritik," and "Ueber die Abfassungszeit der Psalmen" (*ZATW.*, p. 177 *sq.*, 1881–2); Reuss, *Geschichte der heil. Schriften des A. T.*, 2d ed., 1890.

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for, as Eckardt shows, the same words all occur in classical Hebrew. For example, זָוִיֹּת (9:15) from זָוִית (*cf.* Mishna Aramaic זָוִיתָה, ܙܘܝܬܐ, زَاوِيَة) occurs in Ps. 144:12. בָּחַל (11:8) ܒܚܠ is ἁ. λ. But *cf.* מֶבֹחֶלֶת (Prov. 20:21). יְקָר (14:3) occurs in Jer. 20:5; Ezek. 22:25; Prov. 20:15 and frequently in the later books. קְרָב (14:3) is found also in Job 38:23; Eccl. 9:18; Ps. 55:22; 68:31; 78:9; 144:1. רַעַל (12:2) as noun is ἁ. λ.; but as verb, occurs in Nah. 2:4 (*cf.* Aram. רְעַל, Syr. ܪܥܠ and Arab. رَعْل أَرْعَل). The form תַּרְעֵלָה is found in Isa. 51:17, 22. שָׁגַל (14:2) occurs in Jer. 3:2; Deut. 28:30; Isa. 13:16. These words can only indicate that 9–14 are post-exilic, and in no way, as Eckardt allows, that these chapters are necessarily Greek. Two instances of greater value occur, however, in which the Aramaic ending ה is substituted for the Hebrew א: *e. g.*, מִצָּבָה (9:8) instead of מִצָּבָא, and אַמְצָה (12:5) for אֶמְצָא. But the first root actually occurs with an א in the word צָבְאוּ (14:12); and the second in יִמָּצֵא, and מַמְצִיא also with א (10:10 and 11:6). This vacillating change of our author from one orthography to another is, as we shall see later, one of his most noteworthy literary characteristics. One other possible Aramaism in these chapters remains to be discussed, viz., the change of an א to י in the word הַיּוֹצֵר (11:13), intended for הָאוֹצָר according to many. The proposed emendation, however, is doubtful. For, as Wellhausen (p. 187) shows, the present incorrect reading may be intentional on the part of the Massoretes, in which case this instance cannot be reckoned as an Aramaic usage of our author; or, the text may be correct as it stands. This latter explanation has in its favor the word הַשְׁלִיךְ (Hiph.), used so commonly in the O. T. in the sense of fling or cast away in contempt (*cf.* Gen. 37:22; Num. 35:20, 22; Neh. 9:26; 2 Kgs. 7:15; Ezek. 20:8; 23:35; 28:17), which indicates that the thirty pieces of silver are an insult to the Shepherd, and, as we may naturally infer, too profane for the temple treasury.

2. *Scriptio plena is a proof of late authorship.* The name דָּוִיד especially, according to Eckardt (p. 90), has great worth in determining the period to which these prophecies belong. Down until the end of the 4th century B. C. the custom was to write

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scriptio defectiva דָּוִד. The full form, or *scriptio plena* דָּוִיד as here, must have been the original orthography of our author, as no copyist would have changed it. Hence, as the *scriptio plena* דָּוִיד is invariably employed in these prophecies, Eckardt concludes (p. 90) that our author must have written in the Greek period. But at most the name "David" occurs only six times in Zech. 9–14 and in a single context of as many verses (12:7–12). Koheleth (one of the latest books in the O. T.) has, on the contrary, דָּוִד (1:1). Hosea and Amos, on the other hand, have דָּוִיד (Hos. 3:5; Am. 6:5; 9:11),—in all four exceptions to Eckardt's rule. Moreover, the date of the transition from the *scriptio defectiva* to the *scriptio plena*, assigned by him to "the end of the 4th century B. C.," is wholly arbitrary, and as far as can be ascertained was not a sudden but a gradual change which took place in the development of Hebrew literature (*cf.* Bonk, *ZATW.*, XI., 127 *sq.*). Furthermore, the date of a given prophecy can hardly be decided on the basis of a single word and that a proper name. A much more decisive criterion is the *general* custom of the author with reference to full or defective orthography. In this respect Zech. 9–14 is a particularly interesting study. The *scriptio plena* and *defectiva* are confused in a most striking manner; *e. g.*, נִגַּשׁ (9:9), but נוֹגֵשׁ (10:4); הָפֵיר (11:10), but הָפֵר (11:14); הוֹבִישׁ (9:5), but הֹבִישׁוּ (10:5, 11); יֹשֵׁב יְרוּשָׁלַם (12:7), but יוֹשֵׁב יְרוּשָׁלַם (12:8); מְשִׁפָּחוֹת (12:14) and מִשְׁפָּחֹת (12:14 twice). Eckardt allows that the orthography of our author is very remarkable.

3. *The preponderance of the form* אֲנִי *over* אָנֹכִי *is a further mark of late authorship.* Giesebrecht's law is (p. 256), "the later the writing the greater the preponderance in favor of אֲנִי." But, applying this law to the prophecies in hand, as a matter of fact the form אֲנִי occurs in 9–14 but twice (10:6; 13:9), whereas אָנֹכִי five times (11:6, 16; 12:2; 13:5 twice). This unfavorable phenomenon, however, which cannot be accounted for, as Eckardt admits (p. 95) on the ground that the shorter form is borrowed from older passages, is attributed by him "to the deliberate choice of the learned author who made use of the more seldom expression because it had to him a weightier and more solemn

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ring" (p. 97). But this is hardly satisfactory in view of the fact that in Lamentations, Koheleth, Esther, Ezra, Nehemiah, 1 Chronicles, 2 Chronicles and Daniel אֲנִי occurs 109 times against אָנֹכִי three times; and that in Ezekiel, Haggai, Zech. 1–8 and Malachi אֲנִי is found 155 times, while אָנֹכִי but twice. This shows that the use of אֲנִי became too universal before the 3d century B. C. to allow of the frequent use of אָנֹכִי in Zech. 9–14. Eckardt's attempt to explain the frequent use of הִנֵּה with personal pronoun and participle instead of הִנֵּה with pronominal suffix and participle is correspondingly weak.

4. *The ending* וֹן *is, according to Eckardt, a further sign of the late origin of Zech. 9–14; e. g.,* בְּצִרוֹן (9:12), יִקָּפְאוֹן (14:6) and the three words of like ending in 12:4, viz., תִּמָּהוֹן, שִׁגָּעוֹן and עִוָּרוֹן. These last three, however, arise out of Deut. 28:28 (which, according to Cornill and Eckardt, is exilic) and therefore are not claimed in proof of Greek origin. The other two find early post-exilic parallels in Zech. 6:14 לְזִכָּרוֹן and Hag. 2:17 בַּשִּׁדָּפוֹן and וּבַיֶּרָקוֹן.

5. *The frequent use of the nota accusativi* אֵת *especially with suffixes.* In chs. 9–14 אֵת with suffixes occurs but six times: אוֹתָם (10:3), אֶתְכֶם (11:9), אֹתִי (11:11), אֹתוֹ (11:10; 11:13; 13:9); in Zech. 1–8, on the contrary, nine times: אֹתָם (2:4; 8:8), אֶתְכֶם (2:10, 12; 8:13), אֹתְךָ (3:4), אֹתָהּ (5:8), אֹתִי (6:8; 8:14). This unfavorable phenomenon in 9–14 Eckardt endeavors (p. 97) to account for on the part of our author "less through intent than good schooling and subject matter" (*cf.* Hag. 2:3 אֹתוֹ and 2:17 אֶתְכֶם).

6. *Eckardt also observes* (p. 98) *that the article is strikingly wanting in 9–14 in the following instances:* אָדָם (9:1), כִּיבוֹסֵי (9:7), כְּצֹאן (9:16), כְּגִבּוֹר (10:7), יַעַר הַבָּצִיר (11:2), שֹׁעַר הָרִאשׁוֹן (14:10), כָּל־קְדֹשִׁים (14:5), גֵּי־הָרִים (14:5), and לְהִשְׁתַּחֲוֹת לְמֶלֶךְ יְהוָה (14:16, 17),—in all nine instances. But it is quite possible to reduce this number in importance and value. In four of these cases the absence of the article, if not intentional, may be due to the Massoretic vocalization; *e. g.,* אָדָם (9:1), following the analogy of אָדָם in Isa. 2:9, 11; Deut. 32:8; 2 Sam. 7:14; Ps. 11:4; 12:2, 9; 14:2, may be here used in a col-

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lective sense, implying "mankind" in general. Or it may be a corruption of אֲרָם, Syria, in which case the article would be superfluous. Or it may possibly have been omitted on account of the highly poetic character of ch. 9. The proper name כִּיבוּסִי (9:7) without the article also may be explained in one of two ways: either as a mistake of Massoretic vocalization; *e. g.*, כִּ may quite as easily be pointed כַּ (*cf.* Kautzsch-Gesenius, *Gramm.*, 25te Aufl., §126, 3, d); or, the name being singular, the article is not necessary (*cf.* Kautzsch-Gesenius, *Gramm.*, §125, 2). The form כְּצֹאן (9:16) is another doubtful example of the failure of the article. The phrase כְּצֹאן עַמּוֹ may mean either "as sheep that are his people" (Steiner), or "as a flock of his people"; both of which are grammatically possible (*cf.* Lowe, p. 88). Or, here again the absence of the article may be laid to the charge of the Massoretes. *Cf.* the parallel cases: Ezek. 36:38 כְּצֹאן קָדָשִׁים כְּצֹאן יְרוּשָׁלַם; Ps. 74:1 בְּצֹאן מַרְעִיתֶךָ; and in Zech. 4:7 לְמִישׁוֹר. In the case of כַּגִּבּוֹר (10:7) parallels are found (*cf.* Kautzsch-Gesenius, *Gramm.*, §126, 3, d) in Job 16:14 כְּגִבּוֹר for כַּגִּבּוֹר, 31:18 כְּאָב, 38:3 כְּגֶבֶר, and Ps. 17:12 כְּאַרְיֵה. Furthermore, the article is regularly wanting when the compared subject is already more nearly defined by an attribute, *e. g.*, Isa. 16:2; 14:19; 29:5; Jer. 2:30; Prov. 27:8; Job 30:14. יְעַר הַבָּצוּר (11:2) is a still more doubtful instance as the necessity of the article depends upon the nature of הַבָּצוּר whether passive participle or substantive. In case it is a participle the omission of the article before יַעַר is not exceptional, as it expresses the attribute of יַעַר. Kautzsch (*Gramm.*, §126, 5, Anm. 1, a) explains the absence of the article here and that of the following example advanced by Eckardt, שִׁעַר הָרִאשׁוֹן (14:10), as *regular*. The form כָּל־קְדֹשִׁים (14:5) has a parallel in Isa. 28:8. גֵּי־הָרִים (14:5), which Eckardt declares is "ganz abnorm" without the article, falls easily under the rule given by Kautzsch-Gesenius (*Gramm.*, §126, 5. Anm. 1, a), viz., that the omission of the article may depend upon a regard for *hiatus* before א, ר, ה, *e. g.*, in Zech. 4:7 הַר הַגָּדוֹל for הָהָר הַגָּדוֹל (vocative); Ps. 104:18 הָרִים הַגְּבֹהִים (*cf.* 1 Sam. 16:23; Lev. 24:10; Ezek. 34:12; Hag. 1:4; Ps. 143:10; Ezek. 10:9 and Jer. 22:26). One other case remains to be explained, לְהִשְׁתַּחֲוֹת

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לְמֶלֶךְ יי (14:16, 17). But here again the omission of the article may be set to the account of the Massoretic punctuation; or, if this be rejected, an exact parallel is found in Ps. 21:1. From an individual study of these words, therefore, it is evident that Zech. 9–14 is not distinguished by a conspicuous absence of the article, as Eckardt claims, and consequently that these prophecies are not necessarily of late origin.

7. *Another characteristic of late Hebrew is the setting forth of the finite verb by means of the Infinitive Absolute; e. g.,* וְסָפְדוּ וְדָמֹר (12:10). But the Inf. Abs. is employed in setting forth a finite verb even more strikingly in Zech. 1–8 and Haggai; *e. g.,* הֶעֱבַרְתִּי . . . . וְהַלְבֵּשׁ (Zech. 3:4); כִּי־צַמְתֶּם וְסָפוֹד (Zech. 7:5); זִרַעְתֶּם . . וְהָבֵא . . . אָכוֹל . . . שָׁתוֹ . . . . לָבוֹשׁ (Hag. 1:6, with four Inf. Abs.). For examples of the same use of the Inf. Abs. in other pre-Grecian literature, *cf.* Kautzsch-Gesenius, *Gramm.*, §113, 4, a.

8. *Lastly, as another proof of the Grecian origin of Zech. 9–14, Eckardt urges the clumsy diction and weary repetition of these prophecies, especially chs. 12; 13:1–6; 14; e. g.,* וְיָשְׁבָה תַּחְתֶּיהָ (12:6; 14:10); לְבַד (11 times), מִשְׁפָּחָה (9 times), and נָשִׁים (5 times) in 12:12–14, etc. But the unusual idiom concerning Jerusalem, that "she shall dwell in her own place," is not peculiarly characteristic of 9–14, for a corresponding one occurs in Zech. 6:12 concerning the Branch, וּמִתַּחְתָּיו יִצְמָח "and he shall grow up out of his own place." On the other hand, the constant repetition of words is likewise a conspicuous trait of Zech. 1–8; *e. g.,* עוֹד (4 times in 1:17), זאת (5 times in 5:5–8), נָתַן (3 times in 8:12), צוּם (4 times in 8:19). *Cf.* also the language of 6:13; 8:14, 15. From this it clearly follows that chs. 9–14 are not necessarily later than chs. 1–8. Neither can it be argued that the word מַשָּׂא (9:1; 12:1) is necessarily very late; for already in Jeremiah's time it was sufficiently familiar to be used in a double sense (*cf.* Jer. 23:33–40). In conclusion, therefore, we are forced to remark that on grounds of the language alone of Zech. 9–14 we are unable to decide that our author wrote "nur in der griechischen Zeit"; but, on the contrary, that he wrote *before* the Grecian times.

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II. *The historical data alleged in favor of a Graeco-Maccabean date.*—There are confessedly several passages in Zech. 9–14 which point in the direction of Maccabean times. Wellhausen quotes a remark of Grotius in which he concedes that if he were compelled to dissent from the traditional view and determined the date of Zech. 9–14 by the clear references to the facts of history, these prophecies would have to be assigned to a period not earlier than the time of the Maccabees. The principal and most decisive passages which favor a late date are:

1. *Zech. 14:9, "And the Lord shall be king over all the earth; in that day shall the Lord be one and his name one.* This passage, according to Stade (*ZATW.*, 1880–1, p. 169) not only pictures the congregation in Deutero-Zechariah's time as a theocracy with Jerusalem as the centre; but contains a polemic against the conditions in Greek times when all gods were conceived of as only different representations of one and the same God. It betrays also, he thinks, a repetition concerning Jehovah and his being which was alone then possible. To Jeremiah the gods of foreign peoples were the enemies of God's people; to Deutero-Isaiah, as no gods; but to Deutero-Zechariah the heathen all worship the true God, but only under different names—hence Hellenic; and accordingly opposed to Mal. 1:11, which pictures the Jews as not yet having learned to respect heathen gods. Such is Stade's interpretation of 14:9. But, on the contrary, the post-exilic congregation was as truly a theocracy after the return from exile as in the period subsequent to Alexander's conquest. And the fact that God alone was ruler of his people was, as Stade really admits, the foundation thought of post-exilic Judaism. Indeed it was the basis of the Mosaic religion from the earliest time, as Grützmacher (p. 34) suggests; however, not in the sense that it was after the exile. Then Israel knew no king but God. Zerubbabel was but a governor פַּחַת of Judah (Hag. 1:14; 2:2, 21); and never until the time of Aristobulus I. (105 B. C.) did any ruler ever venture to assume the title of king. The Jewish colony after the Restoration were more of a religious sect than a political organization. Zechariah often pictures the close relation of Jehovah to his people (2:14–16; 8:3, 23), and our prophet also describes similar conditions. The "yearning for a fuller

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theocracy," which Cheyne (*Bampton Lectures*, p. 120) discovers in Zech. 9–14, is thoroughly consistent with the yearning of a struggling congregation in a land of forsaken idols shortly after the return from exile. The passage indeed does contain "an unusually clear and decided expression of Jewish monotheism," as Wellhausen (p. 195) expresses it, but the idea of monotheism was by no means a new idea in Grecian times. Already the decree of Cyrus was given in the name of "Jehovah, God of heaven" (Ezr. 1:1–4); not that Cyrus worshiped Jehovah under the Jewish name, but that the same God of heaven was at that time known by different names. Later, Jehovah is spoken of as "the Lord of all the earth" (Zech. 6:5). And still later a prophet declares that in all nations the Jews are offering acceptable incense to God, but not so in Jerusalem. This is the meaning of Mal. 1:11; and consequently is in no sense polemicised by our author. Stade's view is therefore incorrect, and the force of his whole argument in favor of the Greek origin of this passage is materially weakened. Kuiper (pp. 110, 132) and Staerk (pp. 98, 99) decline to follow Stade in this instance, declaring with Grützmacher (pp. 34, 35) that the same fundamental thought lies at the basis of both Mal. 1:11 and Zech. 14:9. Further, they see no evidence whatever in Zech. 14:9 of a Greek date for these prophecies.

2. *Zech. 12:2 b.* וְגַם עַל־יְהוּדָה יִהְיֶה בַּמָּצוֹר עַל־יְרוּשָׁלִַם, which, interpreted by Stade, Kuenen, Wellhausen, Rubinkam and others, means, "And Judah also (forced by the enemy) shall be in the siege against Jerusalem." To Stade this is a proof that the children of the Diaspora had served as soldiers. To Wellhausen it is a description of the hostile relations which actually existed between the city and the country in the beginning of the Maccabean uprising. To another, a parallel passage is found in the book of Enoch (ch. 90:16); viz., "All the eagles and vultures and ravens and kites (*i. e.*, Gentiles) assembled together and brought with them all the sheep of the field (*i. e.*, the apostate Jews of Judea), and they all came together and helped each other to break that horn of the ram (Judas Maccabeus)." The validity of all these claims, however, depends upon the exegesis of Zech. 12:2 *b;* whether or not Judah is really forced to engage in actual

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conflict with the enemy against Jerusalem. It is obvious at once from the present text, that in order to get a subject for יִהְיֶה the עַל before יְהוּדָה is to be cancelled (with Targum, Kuenen, Stade, Wellhausen, Geiger, Marti, Rubinkam and others). The passage then translated reads, "And Judah also shall take part in the siege against Jerusalem"; but this is ambiguous, being capable of the interpretation above mentioned, viz., that Judah shall fight against Jerusalem, but likewise that *Judah shall be besieged.* The latter we take to be the true meaning of the passage and for these reasons: (*a*) The verb הָיָה in connection with בַּמָּצוֹר implies the passive as in Ezek. 4:3, וְהָיְתָה בַּמָּצוֹר, "and she (Jerusalem) shall be besieged." Thus in Zech. 12:2 *b*, as one nation might besiege Jerusalem (a city), so *all* nations, coming up, are practically going to besiege Judah. (*b*) The LXX. has *καὶ ἐν τῇ Ἰουδαίᾳ ἔσται περιοχὴ ἐπὶ Ἰερουσαλήμ*, which makes Judah the field of battle, and nowhere hints that Judah is opposed to Jerusalem. The *Beth essentiæ* before מָצוֹר indicates that in the mind of the translator the siege was to take place in Judah, *i. e.*, that the conflict was not so much a siege as an open battle (*cf.* Lowe, p. 107). The Koptic version makes this interpretation still more certain by inserting a *καὶ* before *ἔσται* (*cf.* Schulte, *Quartalschr.*, 1895). (*c*) The context favors this interpretation. Judah is described (12:5, 6) as placing confidence in Jerusalem and then as becoming victorious over the nations, without anywhere hinting that Judah has changed sides or betrayed the enemy. In 12:7 also the prophet makes the interests of Judah and Jerusalem one. This is so evident, that in order to accept of the hypothesis that Judah fights against Jerusalem, Wellhausen (pp. 188 *sq.*) is forced to throw out this verse as a later interpolation. He also changes יִשְׂרָאֵל in 11:14 to יְרוּשָׁלַם in order that the text may read, "break the brotherhood between Judah and Jerusalem." Kuiper's emendations יְהִיו for יִהְיֶה, etc., are quite as arbitrary and unnecessary. Hence as a matter of fact the context does not allow of our thinking that Judah fights against Jerusalem. (*d*) Further, the parallel passage in Zech. 14:14 (which Wellhausen needlessly transposes to ch. 12) confirms our interpretation of 12:2 *b*. There the verb לָחַם with בְּ occurs before the proper name Jerusalem. This construction לָחַם with

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בְּ before the name of a city, usually signifies "at," not "against." If the author had wished to express the thought that Judah will fight *against* Jerusalem, he would have said תִּלָּחֵם עַל־יְרוּשָׁלַם instead of תִּלָּחֵם בִּירוּשָׁלַם (*cf.* Isa. 7:1; 2 Kgs. 12:18; 19:8; Jer. 34:22; 37:8). On the exegesis of Zech. 12:2 *b*, *cf.* Orelli (pp. 347, 359).

With this interpretation of Zech. 12:2 *b* the alleged parallel in Enoch 90:16 falls away. Moreover, in any case, the language is too obscure and its own interpretation is too uncertain. At best it is a mere coincidence and consequently proves nothing. The commonest traits of Enoch are entirely wanting in Zech. 12:2 *sq.*; *e. g.*, there is no mention of the Chasids or Asideans, who existed as a party for some time before the Maccabean uprising (*cf.* Charles, *Book of Enoch*, pp. 249 *sq.*); and who, though generally in support of Judas, yet at times were actually antagonistic to him (1 Macc. 7:13). The Chasids defended the law; so long, therefore, as Judas and the Maccabean family endeavored to re-establish the theocracy, so long they carried with them the support of the Chasids; but the moment they laid hands on the high-priesthood, from that moment began the alienation of the Chasids which afterwards developed into a deadly hostility. And further also, as Wellhausen observes (p. 190), though hostile relations actually did exist between the city and the country in the beginning of the Maccabean uprising, "no characteristic of the prophecy under discussion in reality agrees with the conditions of that time. The Maccabees were not the Jews of the low land and they did not join themselves with the heathen out of hatred to the city of Jerusalem, in order finally to fall treacherously upon their companions in war. There is not the slightest hint in our passage of religious persecution; that alone decides, and hence the most important sign of Maccabean times is wanting." Furthermore, it should be observed that the apocalyptic restoration of Israel *as a nation* in ch. 14, is quite incongruous with the later claims of the *individual* as portrayed in the literature of the 2d century B. C., *e. g.*, in the Book of Enoch (*cf.* Charles, pp. 22, 23).

3. *Zech. 12:12–14, the house of David and the house of Levi.* Stade endeavors to show from this passage that the

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coördinate position here assigned to the house of Levi beside the house of David is not only a clear proof that Zech. 9–14 is *post-exilic*, but also *Greek*. He allows that the house of Levi before the Grecian times was already of far greater importance than the house of David; but he claims that it was due to the ancient traditions in favor of the royal house that kept the priesthood (especially in *writings*) in a position of subordination. But, the following observations are to be noted in connection with 12:12–14: (a) *The definition of the author's terms.* It is generally admitted that by the house of David the author intends the government as in Ps. 122:5 (*cf.* Wellhausen, p. 191), and by the house of Levi, the priesthood (*cf.* Mal. 2:4–7, in which Levites are priests). The prophet accordingly divides the community into two parts—the political and the ecclesiastical. He then subdivides these. The house of Nathan he makes a further specialization of the house of David (*cf.* 2 Sam. 5:14), and the house of Shimei, a further specialization of the house of Levi (*cf.* Num. 3:21). By this division the prophet embraces the highest and the lowest in both the civil and religious orders of society. From this division we get an indication of the author's aim and date. (b) *The author's aim.* His aim evidently is to describe how the entire land shall be affected by the murder in 12:10. Every stratum of society shall mourn, he declares, from the highest to the lowest of both political and ecclesiastical ranks of the community. (c) *The author's date.* If the date of our prophet can be determined at all from this passage, it must depend entirely upon the division he makes of society, as the mere mention of the houses of David and Levi can not decide. Such a division would have been absolutely meaningless, according to our opinion, had our prophet lived and written after the priesthood had acquired temporal power in the Graeco-Maccabean age. Indeed such a division of society would lose its fullest import if the author had lived long after the restoration from exile. For (α) after Zerubbabel the house of David fell into comparative obscurity and continued to lose power and influence more and more, until in the time of the Maccabees it was entirely eclipsed. (β) It was during the construction of the temple, as far as we know, that the hopes of Israel centered in both the

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royal and sacerdotal houses (*cf.* Zech. 4:9; 6:12, 13). Hence in keeping with these conditions our prophet places them side by side, giving precedence to David because of the historic and Messianic prestige of the house of David, in the same manner in which the prophet Haggai always places the name Zerubbabel before that of Joshua (1:1, 12, 14; 2:4, *cf.* Ezr. 5:2). (γ) Moreover, the hopes expressed in the context practically render it impossible to make these prophecies late: *e. g.*, the hope contained in 12:8, in which the feeble of Jerusalem are described as becoming in that day as David, etc. Such a hope is absolutely inexplicable in Grecian times, for the house of David had at that time lost too much of its power and glory to inspire a prophet with such a comparison. Again, the promise contained in 9:9 bears upon our passage. It is there clearly indicated that the prophet looked for a *Davidic* Messiah to come. The great leaders of the Maccabees, however, were not of the house of David but of the tribe of Levi (*cf.* Lowe, p. 111): accordingly we must conclude that when the prophet wrote, the house of David was still in possession of considerable prestige and political power. Kuenen sees no proof of Greek origin in this passage.

4. *Zech. 10:10, 11, Assyria and Egypt.* (This passage, singularly enough, is also one of the strongest proofs in support of the pre-exilic hypothesis). Stade maintains (p. 291), "that, by Egypt the kingdom of the Ptolemies is to be understood is self-evident. And just as sure, though vigorously disputed, is it that Assyria must be taken to mean Syria, which it also means in Isa. 27:12, 13 and Ps. 83:9." Consequently he concludes (p. 306), that Deutero-Zechariah lived after 306 B.C.—the date of the first Ptolemy (*cf.* Wellhausen, p. 183). Rubinkam quotes Herodotus (7:63) who says concerning Syria, "the people whom the Greeks call Syrians are called Assyrians by the barbarians." Guthe (*Lectures on O. T. Introd.*, MS.) maintains further that Assyria and Egypt are here described by Deutero-Zechariah not as a *unit*, as they were under Alexander, but as independent kingdoms such as they were after the division under the Ptolemies and Seleucidae in 306 B.C. (*cf.* Mic. 5:4, 5). But there are serious objections to this late date. (α) The alleged parallel passages (Isa. 27:12, 13; Ps. 83:9; Mic. 5:4, 5) are most probably earlier than 306 B.C.

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as allowed by the most liberal of modern scholars. The popular date, *e. g.*, assigned to Isa. 27 is the *early* post-exilic period (Driver, Dillmann, Ewald, Kuenen, Oort, Delitzsch, and others); and the Greek origin of Mic. 5:4, 5 and Ps. 83 is equally improbable (*cf.* Delitzsch, *Commentary on Psalms*). This argument, therefore, viewed from a critical point of view rests upon an uncertainty. (*b*) Exegetically also, Stade's conclusion is doubtful. For granted that these passages from Isaiah, Micah, and Ps. 83 could be proven to be of Greek origin, it would still remain to be shown that in the use of the names Assyria and Egypt they furnish an analogy to our passage in hand. Grützmacher denies that אַשּׁוּר in the O. T. ever means Syria (but *cf.* Nöldeke, *Zeitschr. für Assyriologie*, I., pp. 268–273); and Kuiper (p. 134), though he admits that Egypt might mean the Ptolemies, holds that it is doubtful whether אַשּׁוּר means the Seleucidae. He, therefore, finally concludes that Assyria means here the Persian monarchy, and that Assyria and Egypt together refer to the different parts of the Persian kingdom. Kuenen maintains (p. 413) that Stade's "claim is entirely unproven." According to our opinion, there is positive biblical proof for interpreting Assyria to mean *Persia*. For example in Ezr. 6:22 the King of Persia is unmistakably called the "King of Assyria." This passage, we maintain, is a legitimate parallel to Zech. 10:10, 11, and of itself is sufficient to justify an interpretation of our passage in keeping with Persian times. But there are also reasons for thinking that the ancient names Assyria and Babylonia lingered in the memories of exilic and post-exilic writers (*cf.* Kuiper p. 134), and that they were used by them to express new conditions. Thus Nebuchadnezzar, King of Babylon, is called in 2 Kgs. 23:29 "King of Assyria;" Cyrus, King of Persia is spoken of in Ezr. 5:13 as "King of Babylon," so also Artaxerxes, King of Persia, is called in Neh. 13:6 "King of Babylon." In a similar manner the term "Assyrians" is employed where "Babylonians" is intended (*cf.* Jer. 2:18; Lam. 5:6). A like use of ancient names for modern conditions is pointed out by McCurdy (*History, Prophecy and the Monuments*, I., p. 158, 1894), in the case of "Canaan"—the ancient name of Palestine—which long after the Hebrews occupied the land still

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clung to it and was used instead of "land of Israel" (*cf.* 1 Sam. 13:19, 2 Kgs. 6:23, Isa. 19:24). In explanation of this McCurdy remarks, "the ancient appellation was not excluded, inasmuch as the Bible interests itself primarily not in *places*, but in their *inhabitants*." This we claim holds true in the case of our prophecy, especially 10:11. (*c*) Again, the context is opposed to Stade's interpretation. In 10:10 Egypt and Assyria are spoken of as the lands to which the people of Ephraim had been banished and from which they were to be brought back to Gilead and Lebanon (*cf.* Zech. 8:7, where it is said they shall be brought back from the east country and the west country, as in Isa. 43:5, 6; 49:12; *cf.* also Hos. 7:16; 8:13; 9:3, 6; 11:5, 11, which predict their places of banishment). The allusion in Zech. 10:10, therefore, is naturally to ancient Egypt and ancient Assyria. If so, it is unreasonable to suppose that the prophet in the next verse under the same terminology refers to the Seleucidae and the Ptolemies. And the fact that the prophet here mentions the "pride" of Assyria and the "scepter" of Egypt does not necessarily place him after 306 B.C., when these countries were no longer a unit under Alexander the Great; for, in 9:6 our prophet speaks also of the "pride" of Philistia, and as a matter of history the "scepter" of Egypt was actually taken away by Darius in 517 B.C. On the other hand, the prominence with which Egypt is referred to in 14:19 points rather to Persian than Greek times; for then Egypt in consequence of her perpetual efforts to throw off the Persian yoke, was naturally brought under the observation of the Jews in Palestine who repeatedly beheld the Persian armies passing on their way to the valley of the Nile. Hence we maintain that Zech. 10:10, 11 is not a witness to the Græco-Maccabean origin of these prophecies.

5. *Zech. 9:13, the Sons of Greece.* "*For I have bent Judah for me. I have filled the bow with Ephraim: and I will stir up thy sons, O Zion, against thy sons, O Greece, and will make thee as the sword of a mighty man.*" This is the chief and all-important passage in support of the post-Zecharian hypothesis. More emphasis is placed upon this passage than upon all others together. Kuiper, *e. g.*, (p. 160) in summing up throws the whole weight of his argument in favor of a Greek date on this verse.

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Wellhausen (p. 183) makes it decide the date of these prophecies, while Stade (II., p. 275) declares that the announcement of the בְּנֵי יָוָן is *alone* sufficient to prove that these prophecies are after 333 B. C. It is, in short, claimed that we are no longer in the Assyrian, nor the Chaldean, nor indeed the Persian times, but in the Grecian. Two things are especially emphasized in connection with this important passage: (*a*) that the Sons of Javan are the world-power of Deutero-Zechariah's day, *i. e.*, the Græco-Maccabean world-power; and (*b*) that they are the enemies of Zion. But in opposition to these claims it should be observed (*a*) that the Sons of Javan are but *one* of several world-powers within the range of our prophet's horizon (*cf.* 9:1–7, Syria, Phœnicia, Philistia; 12:2 *sq.*, 14:2 *sq.*, all nations, and 10:10, 11 Assyria and Egypt; *cf.* also Hag. 2:22, 23). (*b*) That the Greeks under Alexander were *not* "the enemies of Zion," and did not fight against the Jews but against the Persians.

In discussing this passage, it is useless to question the genuineness of Zech. 9:13, as Kuenen does (*Einleit.* § 81, n 6), or call it a gloss of Maccabean times, as Kirkpatrick (*Doctr. of Prophets*, pp. 472–3); for the mention of the Sons of Greece is so characteristic of the whole section in which it stands and is so interwoven with the very texture of the entire ninth chapter that to eliminate it destroys the prophet's message concerning the "king of Zion" (9:9). The defeat of Javan inaugurates the Messianic age. Hence we propose to treat 9:13 as an integral portion of the entire context. We are unable, however, to agree with those who advocate its Græco-Maccabean origin. The following reasons have led us, after considerable study, to the conclusion that it is Persian. (*a*) The prophecy, according to our opinion, is far too indefinite to have been uttered just after the invasion of Alexander the Great (vs. Kuiper). No such vague description, or allusion to the march of Alexander can be found elsewhere, so far as we are aware, in all literature. (*b*) The passage does not describe a *victory* for the Sons of Javan, but rather a *defeat*. This fact in itself is enough to render Kuiper's hypothesis improbable. (*c*) Stade's interpretation rests on the hypothesis that 9:1–7 describes the expedition of Seleucis; but, as Kuiper remarks in answer to Rubinkam, any one of a half-dozen invasions of Palestine from north to

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south would satisfy the description quite as well; *e. g.*, that of Shalmaneser II., or of Nebuchadnezzar (*cf.* Grützmacher, pp. 37–40). (*d*) Zech. 9:11, 12 contains an appeal to those still in exile to return, which, according to our opinion, would have been quite meaningless after the conquest of Alexander; and indeed after Ezra and Nehemiah not so appropriate as earlier. (*e*) In short, 9:13–17 as a whole is not a picture of actual war, but rather an apocalyptic vision of the struggle of Israel with the world-power of the West,—hence its indefinite character and its figurative language.

It is objected, however, that in Zechariah's days the Greeks were still unimportant and had not as yet assumed the rôle of a world-power (Driver). This statement is not supported, however, by all the facts of Scripture and history. In the literature of the Old Testament, for example, Javan appears as a nation of considerable importance before the beginning of the 5th century B. C. In Gen. 10:2 (assigned to P^g, which, according to Dillmann, Kuenen, Budde, Wellhausen, Cornill, Kautzsch, and others, was written before 500 B. C.) Javan occurs as one of the seven sons of Japheth. In Isa. 66:19 (exilic, according to Driver, Dillmann, Doederlein, Eichhorn, Rosenmüller, deWette, Gesenius, Hitzig, Ewald, and Kuenen; or, shortly after the Restoration—König, Ryssel, and Bleek), Javan is mentioned as one of the remote peoples who had not heard of the fame or seen the glory of the Jewish Jehovah. In Ezek. 27:13 (confessedly exilic) Javan is represented as in commercial relations with Phœnicia. In Joel 4:6 (by many pre-exilic, but doubtful), Javan is a market where the Phœnicians and Philistines found sale for Jewish slaves. Further, in Gen. 10:1–5 "the isles," or coast lands are mentioned as among the Sons of Javan. In Ezek. 39:6 fire is sent "on Magog and them that dwell securely in the isles." In Zeph. 2:11, "even all the isles of the nations" are represented as worshiping Jehovah. In Isa. 59:18 the Lord is going to pour out his fury upon his adversaries, yea "to the islands he will repay recompense." The cause is not stated, but for some reason Jehovah is about to visit the isles with fury. From these passages it is to be observed, (*a*) that Javan is conceived of as a distant but important nation before the beginning of the 5th century B. C.;

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(*b*) that our prophet in Zech. 9:13 is moving within the sphere of acknowledged earlier prophecies; and (*c*) that he reëchoes the spirit of the former prophets.

Turning to history we obtain more light. (*Cf.* Nöldeke, *Aufsätze zur persischen Geschichte*, 1887, translated in *Encyclopædia Britannica*, IX. ed., article "Persia:" and Duncker, *Geschichte des Altertums*). Darius Hystaspes was elevated to the throne of Persia in 521 B.C., and ruled 36 years (521–486). His seat was not firm at first (Herodotus 3:127). From the Behistûn inscription we learn that at his accession the empire was in an unsettled condition. One province after another made insurrection against the central government. Nöldeke records twelve different revolts which happened in the first three years (521–519) of Darius' reign, principally in the north and east. The west alone remained quiet, but it was partly in the hands of governors of doubtful loyalty. In 518, however, Darius was compelled to move westward at the head of the royal armies. In 517 Aryandes, governor of Egypt, was removed for having assumed the royal privilege of minting money (*cf.* Wiedemann, *Gesch.*, p. 236). But the king's visit to Egypt was cut short by the disturbances of the Greeks, who, like the Egyptians, were the perpetual haters of Persian domination. According to Duncker (IV., p. 491, and VI., p. 496), in the year 516 the Greeks of the Hellespont and Bosphorus with the island of Samos were made to submit to Persian rule. The next year (515) Darius led an expedition against the Scythians across the Danube, the failure of which encouraged the Ionians subsequently to revolt. In 500 B. C. the great Ionian revolt took place. In 499, Sardis, the most important stronghold for Persia in Asia Minor, was burned by the Athenians. An army was dispatched by Darius to restore the Persian frontier. In 493 the islands of the Ægean were recovered, but the Greeks were hard to suppress. The next three years were spent in planning an invasion of Greece. Immense preparations were made, as the undertaking was considered prodigious. Soldiers were drawn from all parts of the empire, but to no purpose. In 490 Marathon was fought and Persia was conquered. That defeat marks a turning point in the current of the world's history. The Sons of Javan on the plain of Marathon met the largest and strongest and

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best organized of Oriental monarchies and came off victorious. Persia rallied, but never really recovered from the shock. Decimated but not vanquished, preparations were begun for a renewed attack on this new world-power. But as the army was about ready to start on a second campaign into Greece, Egypt revolted and the projected invasion was necessarily postponed. Before Egypt was again reduced Darius died (486 B. C). Xerxes succeeded to the throne and attempted to carry out his father's project to reduce Greece, but like him was disappointed. His defeat at Salamis in 480 B. C. need not be rehearsed, nor need we sketch the history of Javan further. Enough has been related to show that already in the reign of Darius Hystaspes, the Sons of Greece were a world-power. Not that Greece was *the* world-power of Darius' reign, but that it was *a* world-power and a *threatening* world-power. Zech. 9–14 does not demand that we should think of Greece as the *only* world-power of the prophet's day. The prophet betrays rather a feeling of insecurity from all quarters, which indicates that a general upheaval was taking place. The Sons of Javan were but one of Israel's enemies in the prophet's day, but the Sons of Javan, at the same time, were of great importance, inasmuch as the victory over them carried with it so momentous Messianic interests. The language of ch. 9 is vague and, in our judgment, too vague and too indefinite to have been uttered after Marathon (490 B. C.), or even after the burning of Sardis (500 B. C.); for in that case, the author would have been influenced more by Greece and less by the movements and commotions of the nations. Accordingly we are inclined to believe that our prophet most probably lived in the period before the revolt of the Ionians and the burning of Sardis by the Athenians. Or, more definitely, in view of the political insecurity which these prophecies reflect throughout, that he lived in the time when Darius' armies were moving westward to protect Persian interests in Egypt and Asia Minor, *i. e.*, in the period from 518 till 516 B. C.

How admirably these years suit the character and contents of these prophecies will be manifest from what follows. Not that all the events of Zech. 9–14 can be fitted into and explained by the history of these three years, for this is impossible on any hypothesis, whether pre-exilic or post-Zecharian; but, what to us

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is far more important, the events of these three years have left an unmistakable impress upon these confessedly obscure oracles, which must be recognized. We make no attempt to square all the prophetical statements of our author by the facts of history, nor do we presume to interpret any given passage in such a manner that it may meet the requirements of the *greatest* event of its kind in all history; but on the contrary, we have endeavored to grasp first the spirit of the author's oracles, and then to trace, as far as possible, their source and inspiration in history. We have in this way become convinced that our author does not reflect the spirit of his alleged contemporaries in pre-exilic times; nor, on the other hand, breathe the atmosphere of the Jewish theocracy in Græco-Maccabean times; but that he does reflect, on the contrary, the last three years before the dedication of the temple (518–516 B. C.).

Our principal reasons for thinking that these prophecies reflect the events of this period are these:

1. *The temple was still in process of construction.* This is seen (a) *in the Messianic and eschatological character of these prophecies.* In no period was the Jewish mind more aglow with Messianic hope and expectation than in the period just after the return from exile (*cf.* Wellhausen, p. 174), but especially when the temple was reaching completion. Then the hopes of the theocracy practically knew no bound (Zech. 6:12, 13). Their expectations became ideal. The vision, for example, of all nations coming up to Jerusalem to keep the feast of tabernacles (ch. 14) is in the highest degree ideal, and was most probably inspired by the hope that when the temple should be completed Zion would become the center of the world's religious life. The author makes no attempt to "plunge into Jewish ceremonial legality" (*cf.* Delitzsch, *Mess. Proph.*, p. 223,) "but only develops a thought already expressed in the old prophetic word (Isa. 2:2 *sq.*; Mic. 4:1 *sq.*)," hence the objection raised by Kautzsch (*Stud. u. Krit.*, p. 777, 1890; *Die heil. Schrift., etc.*, p. 203) and Graetz (*JQR.*, p. 211, 1891), that this vision of Zech. 14 must be later than Ezra and Nehemiah, as not until then did the precept to "dwell in booths" came to be generally observed (Neh. 8:14–17) is groundless. (b) *In the fact that the prophet bases his exhorta-*

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tions for the present on the history of the past (11:1–3; 11:4–17; 10:2 *sq.*; 9:14 *sq.*; 14:20, 21). This is exceedingly important, inasmuch as it reveals the prophet's method. Haggai and Zechariah employed the same method (Hag. 1:6, 9; 2:3; Zech. 1:4–6; 7:7, 12, *cf.* Borchert, *Stud. u. Krit.*, II., 1895, pp. 228, 247 *sq.*). Our prophet frequently emphasizes his message to Israel by referring to their experience in the past. And here again, according to our opinion, no period would so readily suggest this method of exhortation or warrant its use, as a time in which the prophet had before him the actual ruins of Israel's former splendor. (c) *In the fact that the prophet makes Israel's chief interests center in Jerusalem* (9:8–12; 12:2–11; 13:1; 14:2, 8–17, 21). This is also the case in Zech. (1:12–17; 2:6, 8, 16; 8:3, 4, 8, 15, 22), and no period could more naturally have caused a prophet to think and speak thus than when the colony was small and dwelt in Jerusalem and the near vicinity. But further, three times the prophet assures his hearers that "Jerusalem shall again be inhabited in her place" (12:6; 14:10, 11)—a thought which, it must be admitted, would have been quite superfluous after the city had been rebuilt and surrounded by walls (*cf.* again, Zech. 1:16, 17; 2:8, 16; 8:4, 8). (d) *In the fact that certain allusions are best explained in these times.* (α) Zech. 9:9, 10; 14:9. In the first of these passages it is stated that the dominion of the Messiah shall extend "from sea to sea and from the river to the ends of the earth;" and in the second that "Jehovah shall be king over the whole earth." Of Alexander the Great could it hardly be said that his dominion should reach only "from sea to sea," for it extended indefinitely into Europe, Asia, and Africa. Of Xerxes it was not the case; nor of Cyrus, for he had no power in Egypt; nor even of Darius after the battle Marathon, for his dominion was then crippled; but of Darius in the period between 518 and 516 the description is exact, for then his dominion did extend from sea to sea and from the river unto the ends of the earth, and he was king (as far as the Jews of Jerusalem understood) of the whole earth. This is an important observation because these thoughts are of such paramount consequence to the prophet. (β) 9:1–8 is a proof of the prophet's confidence that Jerusalem would not be molested. It mattered not if the royal armies were humbling

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Syria, Phœnicia and Philistia on their way to Egypt, they would not harm Jerusalem for she was a loyal Persian city. (γ) 9:12 reflects the hope of the prophet as he addresses the remaining Jews in Babylon and bids them return to the stronghold,—prisoners of hope, אֲסִירֵי הַתִּקְוָה. (δ) 9:15 and 14:20 refer to the מִזְבֵּחַ, built by the Jews shortly after their arrival in 536 B. C. (Ezr. 3:2). (ε) 13:2–6 is especially appropriate to the period of temple-building, when the people saw the idols of their forefathers prostrate about them and were assured by the prophet that the day would come when every vestige of idolatry and false prophecy would disappear out of the land; "the mention of teraphim and soothsayers (10:2) would be," as Kautzsch (*Die heil. Schrift*, p. 204) remarks, "very strange in Grecian times." (ζ) 14:10 does not describe the "gates" of the Jerusalem of Nehemiah's time, *e. g.*, the שַׁעַר בִּנְיָמִין is mentioned in Jer. 37:13, 38:7 and Zech. 14:10, but not in Neh. 3; and the שַׁעַר הַפִּנּוֹת, which occurs also in 2 Kgs. 14:13, 2 Chron. 26:9, Jer. 31:38, was a gate in the *first* wall of Jerusalem, according to Guthe (*Zeits. deutsch. Pal. Vereins*, VIII., p. 280. (η) 14:18 particularizes Egypt, but this is explained by Darius' prolonged attempt to win the loyalty of the Egyptians by moderating the taxes and ordering, according to Polyaenus, a canal to be built between the Nile and the Red Sea. All these passages point more or less definitely to the period just before the completion and dedication of the temple in 516 B. C. Even chapter 11 finds its best historic setting in these years, for, as we have shown, the author was arguing on the basis of the past.* And we further maintain that our author more truly reflects the political conditions of these years (518–516), than the prophet Zechariah does the historical events of the years 521–518. These were the years when Darius with the royal armies was putting down insurrection after insurrection in the north and east; yet Zechariah says in ch. 1:11, that "all the earth sitteth still and is at rest,"—a statement which was only relatively true, *i. e.*, true for the congregation in Jerusalem.†

* According to Eichhorn (*Einleit.* IV., p. 449), "chapters 11:1-13:6 have no contents by which we can determine the period of their authorship,"

† Kosters' idea (*Theolog. Tijds.*, I., 1895, pp. 353-84) that Zech. 1:11 and Hag. 2:18 are witnesses against the restoration of Israel under Cyrus, and consequently, that the first return

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2. *Negatively also, there are proofs that Zech. 9–14 were delivered before 516 B. C., e. g.,* (*a*) the entire absence of any sort of allusion, direct or indirect, to the revolt of Javan (500 B. C.), to the victories of Greece over Persia (490–480), to Ezra and Nehemiah, to the Great Synagogue, to Alexander the Great, to the influences of Greek civilization and Greek thought, to the growing claims of the individual as opposed to the nation (*cf.* the Wisdom of Solomon), make it improbable that our author lived after these events. Again (*b*) the absence of any direct rebuke of glaring sins such as we find in Mal., *e. g.*, the offering of polluted bread (Mal. 1:7), profaning the table of the Lord (1:12), sacrificing the lame and the sick (1:13, 14), causing to stumble at the law, corrupting the covenant of Levi (2:8), dealing treacherously every man against his brother (2:10, 11), even with the wife of his youth (2:14), the putting away of wives (2:16), practicing sorcery, committing adultery and swearing falsely (3:5); or, as in Nehemiah's time, neglecting the Levitical tithes (Neh. 13:10), forsaking the house of the Lord (13:11), treading winepresses and bearing burdens on the Sabbath (13:15, 16), and marrying wives of the heathen (13:23)—the absence of all allusion to any of these sins of the later post-exilic congregations, leads to the conclusion, not only that the prophet prophesied before the people had fallen into these sins, but that our prophet spoke to *encourage*, not to rebuke, and that his chief aim was, in the midst of surrounding opposition, to inspire Israel to finish the house of the Lord.*

IV.

THE INTEGRITY OF ZECHARIAH 9–14.

In the examination of the two hypotheses (the pre-exilic and the post-Zecharian) which has hitherto been made, it is clear that in order to find any really suitable historic setting for these last

from exile must have taken place in the time of Ezra, has too little in its favor to warrant our further notice here. *Cf.* B. D. Eerdman's article, "De historische Achtergrond van Zach. 1-8" (*Theolog. Tijds.* I., 1895, pp. 152-184).

*Stade's objection (II., p. 163) that Deutero-Zechariah must have lived after Ezra because though showing acquaintance with the law he makes no attempt to introduce it, assumes that no prophet writing before Ezra could betray familiarity with the law without at the same time showing a marked tendency to extend its influence—an assumption which is entirely unwarranted. The prophet's motive was not legal or political, but moral and religious, and as such was in perfect keeping with the years of temple-building.

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six chapters of Zechariah, both hypotheses are embarrassed (especially the former) by the necessity of separating these prophecies into two or more parts and of assigning them to different periods. Individuals differ, however, as to where the divisions shall be made. Rubinkam suggests a break after ch. 9:10; Bleek, at the end of ch. 9; Paulus adds 10:1 to ch. 9; Graetz separates ch. 14 from the rest; Montet and Sharpe divide the whole into five distinct, independent oracles. Staerk excerpts two small sections (11:4–17; 13:7–9) from the body of the prophecy and assigns them to a different age. The majority are content with an almost equal division in two halves (9–11; 12–14). A few representatives of both schools, however, being unwilling to carry the process of dissection quite so far, maintain the integrity of 9–14 at any cost. These are Hitzig, Rosenmüller, Pressel, and Davidson of the pre-exilic school; and Stade, Cornill, Cheyne, Delitzsch, Kuiper, and Wellhausen of the post-Zecharian.

1. *Against Rubinkam*, who divides ch. 9:1–10 from the rest, and observes that the author in 1 Maccabees also springs over a period of 150 years, from Alexander the Great to Antiochus Epiphanes, it may be shown with Cornill, (*a*) that the "brotherhood" in 11:14 implies, and is explained by ch. 9 where it is taken for granted. (*b*) And with Wellhausen that the "sons of Ephraim" בְּנֵי־אֶפְרַיִם (10:7) are as little differentiated from Ephraim, as the "foal of an ass" (9:9) from ass; which shows a similarity in mode of expression. (*c*) But especially the idea contained in 9:8, that "*no more*" shall Israel be disturbed by the enemy. In 14:11 there is no more utter destruction; in 14:21 no more Canaanites are to be found in the house of the Lord; and in 13:2 no more idols. (*d*) Various expressions in language bind 9:1–10 to the remaining parts: *e. g.*, כְּטִיט חוּצוֹת (9:3; 10:5), מַשָּׂא (9:10, 13) נְאֻם (9:6; 10:11; 11:3), the use of גַּם (9:7; 11:12), also אַלֻּף בִּיהוּדָה (9:7) quoted in 12:5, 6 with an implied parenthesis "of whom I spoke before." (*e*) Moreover, as Ewald observes, the paragraph beginning with 9:9 ends at 10:2. Hence the proposed division of Rubinkam at 9:10 is practically impossible.

2. *Against Bleek*, who divides ch. 9 from ch. 10, it is obvious that the blessings alluded to in 9:17 are closely connected

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with those alluded to in 10:1, 2, being of the same temporal character. For this reason Paulus (III., p. 120 *sq.*) joins 10:1 to ch. 9. The uncommon expression כִּבְרוֹרִים occurs in 9:15 and again 10:7. Chapter 9:14–16 also finds a close parallel in 10:5. In the one case arrow, trumpet and sling-stones bring victory; in the other, superior zeal, for they tread down their enemies in the mire of the streets (*cf.* 10:5 and 9:3). Stade observes a further characteristic common to these chapters, viz., "to announce a fact and then give reasons for it." For example, in 9:9 the liberation of Zion from the heathen and the conversion of the heathen to the Messiah are first announced and then the events leading up to it are described (vs. 11–17). So in 10:6, 7 the return of Ephraim is first announced as a result, and then the means of its accomplishment are explained in vs. 8–12.. For similar reasons, Eichhorn (*Einl.* IV., p. 479) pronounced chs. 9 and 10 a unit.

3. *Against Staerk*, who separates chs. 11:4–17; 13:7–9 from the remaining portions by a space in time of 150 years, on the following grounds: (*a*) the author of 11:15, he says, appears as a prophet, but the author of 13:2–6 will not be a prophet. (*b*) The author of 11:4 *sq.*, is full of vain scolding and is pessimistic through and through; Deutero-Zechariah, on the contrary, wishes only to comfort; (*c*) 11:8, 14, which on Stade's hypothesis is inexplicable, he claims is capable of explanation when transferred to other conditions from chs. 9, 10, 12–14. But, (*a*) Staerk's division is based on the false view of Stade that Deutero-Zechariah is only a scribe and will not be a prophet; and (*b*) on a completely erroneous interpretation of 11:4–17, referring it to the present only, whereas it is an allegory of the past without the slightest touch of pessimism. (*c*) Moreover, the claim that 11:8, 14 can be explained out of Maccabean conditions is very questionable, as no one has ever been able to explain satisfactorily the "three shepherds cut off in one month" (11:8) on the basis of any hypothesis. To these may be added linguistic reasons which oppose the theory of Staerk, *e. g.*, בְּרִית (9:11; 11:10), אֶדֶר (11:3, 13), הַנִּשְׁאָרוֹת (11:9; 12:14), יְחַר (13:8; 14:2), וְהַשְּׁבוֹתִים (10:10; 13:7), יָקָר (11:13; 14:6), הִנֵּה אָנֹכִי (11:6, 16; 12:2, *cf.* Eckardt, p. 102); the use of certain words in

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a good sense in both parts, *e. g.*, זֶרַע (10:9), פָּקַח (12:4), on the one hand, and שׁוּב, (13:7) on the other; and of the Inf. Abs. (11:17; 12:3), etc. We accordingly conclude that these two sections (11:4–17 and 13:7–9) are part and parcel of the entire prophecy (chs. 9–14), or, as Kuiper puts it (p. 130), that they are the indispensable links between the other portions.

4. *Against Bertholdt, Knobel, Maurer, Ewald, Bleek, v. Ortenberg, Kuenen, and others*, who divide chs. 9–14 into two oracles of almost equal length (9–11; 13:7–9 and 12–14). This division is conditioned, however, by the successful removal of 13:7–9 from its present position to the end of ch. 11 in order to furnish the first oracle with a suitable conclusion. Ewald was the first to make this transference; followed by v. Ortenberg, Dillmann, Reuss, Stade, Wellhausen, Grützmacher, and others. Though such a transposition may be possible, there are serious objections to it; (*a*) 13:7–9 is not parabolic as is 11:4–17, but prophetic; (*b*) 13:7–9 treats of the future; 11:4–17 of the past (*cf.* Wellhausen, p. 186); (*c*) 13:7–9 is joined in thought to 14:1, 2 *sq.*, *cf.* the fractional remnants in 13:8 and 14:2. (*Cf.* Schlatter, p. 272; and Montet, p. 68, who prefers to join 13:7–9 and 14:1–21 together as one oracle.) (*d*) 13:7–9 describes in detail the results of the siege portrayed in ch. 12, and on the other hand, prepares for the apocalyptic description which follows in ch. 14. (*e*) The shepherd in 13:7 is the Messiah-Shepherd; the "my" standing in contrast to the evil shepherd of 11:15–17 and also the false prophets of 13:2–6. Compare the expression בְּשֵׁם יְהוָה (13:3) and בְּשְׁמִי (13:9). Hence the present position of these verses is justified, if not essential to the correct understanding of the prophecy (*cf.* Elmslie, p. 332, and Bruston, p. 129). Against the unity of these two oracles, however, our opponents present four different lines of argument, viz., language, thought, Messianic expectation and historical situation. (a) *Style and language.* Kuenen, Grützmacher, and others, note the following inconsistencies: (α) בַּיּוֹם הַהוּא occurs only twice in the first section (9:16; 11:11), but 14 times in the second,—a fact which, as Eckardt shows (p. 100), is explained at once (as also וְהָיָה, used 15 times), by the difference in subject matter. (β) צִיּוֹן is used for Jerusalem (9:9, 13); whereas בֵּית דָּוִיד stands

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for the royal house (12:7, 8, 10, 12; 13:1). But this is a specious sort of fallacious reasoning, as in 9:9, 10 Zion and Jerusalem stand side by side, while in 12:10; 13:1 Jerusalem and בֵּית דָּוִיד are distinctly differentiated. (γ) Certain words have different meanings in the two sections; *e.g.*, אַדֶּרֶת (11:3) glory, (13:4) mantle. But as Cornill (p. 200) shows, אַדֶּרֶת of 11:3 and אַדֶּרֶת of 13:4 are two entirely different words, only similar in sound. Our author was fond of words of similar sound, *e. g.*, תֵּרֵא וְתִירָא (9:5), also תֵּשֵׁב וְיָשַׁב (9:5, 6), and אַדִּירִים (11:2) with אַדַּרְתָּם (11:3). Again, מָצוֹר (9:3) stronghold, but (12:2) siege. But מָצוֹר (9:3) is, as Eckardt points out (p. 100), a pun with צוֹר. חַיִל (9:4) power; (14:14) wealth. But the חֵיל in 9:4 comes from the root חֵיל not חַיִל (Arab. حَوْلَة *cf.* Socin's *Kurdische Sammlungen*, I., 297) meaning a small frontier wall before a fortress wall; whereas חֵיל in 14:14 is the construct state of חַיִל (Arab. حَوْل, حَيْل) wealth. (δ) Certain ideas are expressed by different words in the two sections: *e.g.*, "pride" is expressed in 11:3 by גְּאוֹן, in 12:7 by תִּפְאֶרֶת; and "collect" in 10:8, 10 by קִבֵּץ, but in 12:3; 14:2, 14 by אָסַף. But almost any author ought to be allowed two synonyms, especially when attempting to express slightly different shades of meaning. These are all the linguistic inconsistencies that really exist between these two oracles. On the other hand, the similarities are quite important. Eckardt (p. 101) points out the following: אָכַל in sense of destroy (9:4, 15; 11:1, 9, 16, but also 12:6), זָכַר in a religious sense (10:9; 13:2), יָשַׁב in passive (9:5; 12:6 probably also 14:10, 11), כָּרַת Hiph. (9:6, 10; 13:2), מִלְחָמָה (9:10; 10:3, 4, 5; 14:2), הָכָה (9:4; 10:11; 13:7; 12:4; 13:6). שָׁאַר Niph. (9:7; 11:9; 12:14). פָּתַח (11.1; 13:1, *cf.* פָּקַח 12:4), אֵלֶּה (9:7; 12:5, 6). From this list, it is evident, that the style of the two sections is not "entirely different" (Grützmacher, p. 41); but rather the difference is due to the elevated and poetic character of chs. 9–11, which naturally affords a greater treasury of words, and also to the author's special dependence in these chapters on older prophecy (*cf.* Kuiper, pp.

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144–5). (b) *Thought.* The *denkbeelden*, according to Kuenen, are different and require a double authorship. Thus, in the first section there is no storm of the people against Jerusalem, no complaint against false prophets, no outlook leading up to the conversion of the heathen; while in the second section there is no mention of Ephraim, or of the return of the exiles, or of a punishment of the shepherds, or of the coming of the Messiah. But Kuenen likewise admits of no unity in chs. 9–11; *e. g.*, 9:1–5, 8–10; 10:2, 10, 11; 11:4–14 are pre-exilic; but 9:11, 13; 10:6–9, etc., post-exilic. For similar reasons Montet, (p. 68) and Sharpe (*Hist. of Hebrew Nation and Lit.*, 1882) separate the whole into *five* independent units. There are, however, reasons for thinking that the author of both sections moved in the same circle of ideas; *e. g.*, in 10:2 and 13:2 there is a similar, passing allusion to idolatry. In both sections also there is a similar use made of the same former prophets. Apocalyptic wars leading up to Messianic times are portrayed in both sections. Old proper names cling in the prophet's memory, *e. g.*, Hadrach (9:1) and Hadadrimmon (12:11). The heathen are subjects of God's mercy (9:10; 14: 16–19). And the punishment of the shepherds in 11:15–17 is, as Kuiper insists, not entirely absent from 12:8 *sq.* The absence of the name Ephraim in the second section may be explained in two ways: (α) either as Hitzig (*Stud. u. Krit.* I., 1830), on the ground that 11:14 gives up the hope of ever uniting the two kingdoms; or better (β) as Cornill and Kuiper, on the ground that ch. 12 is a necessary conclusion to chapter 11. For the breaking of the staff Beauty (11:7, 10) brings the nations against Jerusalem; and the breaking of Bands (11:7, 14), the disappearance of Ephraim, 11:10 prepares the way for chs. 12–14, and 11:14 for 12:1, 2. No prophecy could well close with 11:17 But further, as Delitzsch observes (*Mess. Proph.*, p. 219), there is a "retrogressive movement" of what is prophesied in both sections. "The two prophetic images in chs. 9:11 are a *hysteron proteron;* for first the future one consumes himself in work for his people, and then is raised from lowliness to a kingdom which rules the world." Sudden transitions are another characteristic of both sections, as Stade proceeds to show. In the first section the author passes quickly from the invasion of Syria, Phœnicia,

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and Philistia by a temporal king (9:1–8), to the coming of the Messiah King (9:9), and then back quite as abruptly to the restoration of the exiles who still remained in captivity (9:11). In the second section at the close of 12:8 the prophet's mind leaps from the time when the nations shall be repulsed from Jerusalem to an age of spiritual deliverance (12:10). Again, both sections paint shocking pictures of the destruction and wasting away of the enemies of God's people (11:17; 14:12); on the other hand, the hopes of both sections in behalf of Israel are the same. (c) *Messianic expectation.* Grützmacher argues (p. 42), that, because in chs. 9–11 the prophet expects an individual Messiah — a king, who would bring peace to the people, while in chapters 12–14 the coming of Jehovah is expected, who will bring salvation to his people but judgment upon the heathen, therefore it is "impossible" to suppose that both sections were written by the same author. But this opinion is based, (α) on a transposition of 13:7–9 from its true position; (β) on a misunderstanding of 12:10; 13:1, and (γ) on his unwillingness to recognize in ch. 14 an apocalypse of the future. Hence there is no cause for division on this basis. (d) *Historical situation.* The first author names Israel and Judah side by side (9:13; 10:6; 11:14); the second, only Judah and Jerusalem. In the first section, Syria, Phœnicia, Philistia, Greece, Assyria, and Egypt are threatened; in the second, "all nations" in general and only Egypt by name (Grützmacher, pp. 42, 43). But, as has been already shown, these peculiarities are due to other causes than difference of authorship.

5. *Against Graetz*, and others who separate chapter 14 from the rest of these prophecies. This is the most difficult problem, according to our opinion, in these prophecies. The difficulty consists in reconciling the two pictures of the nations coming up against Jerusalem in chs. 12 and 14 with unity of authorship. Kuenen (p. 419) does not hesitate to say, that 12:4–6 and 14:12–14 are *onvereenigbaar.* Graetz remarks with considerable force (*JQR.* III., 1891, p. 208), "if both chapters refer to the same event the prophet should have begun with the description of the siege given in ch. 14, which is far more dramatic than the short sentence 'I shall make of Jerusalem a cup of confusion for all nations'

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(12:1)." He further maintains that the faint resemblance between these prophecies vanishes on a closer examination. In ch. 12 Jerusalem is described as receiving no injury; in ch. 14, the city is captured. "How can utterances so different," Graetz asks, "have been linked together in one prophecy?" It must be confessed that the contradiction of statements in this case is without a parallel elsewhere, not even between Parts I. and II. But in our judgment the contradiction is superficial. Chapter 14 is a separate oracle, quite independent of the preceding chapters written by the same prophet but later and under different circumstances,—very possibly shortly before the dedication of the temple in 516 B. C. This is evident from the conclusion of chapter 13:9, "I will say, It is my people: and they shall say, The Lord is my God," which forms a most suitable ending to the former oracles. Chapter 14, however, belongs to chs. 9–13, as the language witnesses; *e. g.*, there is the same regard for Judah in ch. 14 as elsewhere, וְגַם יְהוּדָה (12:2; 14:14). The following expressions occur in both sections, בָּקַע (12:11; 14:4); גְּשֶׁם (14:17; 10:1); יָקָר (11:13; 14:6); פִּנָּה (10:4; 14:10); especially the use of מְזֻרָק near מִזְבֵּחַ (9:15; 14:20, pointed out by Cornill, p. 200); the mention of the "Canaanites" (according to *LXX.*) in 11:7, 11; 14:21; the use of Niphals, *e. g.*, יָתַר (13:8; 14:16), כָּרַת (9:10; 13:8; 14:2) and לָחַם (10:5; 14:3, 14), the employment of מְאֹד (9:2, 5, 9; 14:4, 14); the tendency to reminiscence, *e. g.*, the allusions to Josiah and Uzziah (12:11; 14:5); חָנָה (9:8), *cf.* מַחֲנֶה (14:15); and, finally, the author's indifferent use of כָּל־הָעַמִּים (12:2, 3; 14:12) and כָּל־הַגּוֹיִם (14:2; 14:16; 12:9). These instances are enough to show the close relation of ch. 14 to chs. 9–13. And when it is remembered that we are dealing with an apocalypse, all apparent inconsistencies disappear.

Accordingly we conclude, in view of the above observations, that Zech. 9–14 are from the same hand, though we admit with Stade (p. 307), that it can never, of course, be proven that such *must* be the case.*

*Cheyne (*JQR.* I., 1889, p. 81) declares, that "with perhaps one or two exceptions, chs. 9–11 and 12–14 are so closely welded together that even analysis is impossible."

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V.

THE RELATION OF CHAPTERS 9–14 TO ZECH. 1–8.

Though tradition has never without exception denied the Zecharian authorship of chs. 9–14, yet being of an *uncritical* character, it behooves us critically to examine into the juxtaposition of these chapters in relation to Zech. 1–8. What especially warrants our investigation of this relation of Part II. to Part I. is the fact that even those who defend the integrity of chs. 9–14, deny the integrity of the entire book. The arguments of many, however, are too often overstated and too minutely drawn out. Two caveats are necessary: (*a*) objections which disprove the unity of chs. 9–14 should never be used against the unity of Zechariah by those who maintain the integrity of the former; and (*b*) arguments which prove the unity of the entire Old Testament are of no value in substantiating the genuineness of chs. 9–14.

I. *The objections to the Zecharian origin of chapters 9–14.*— 1. *No visions* are found in these chapters as there are in Part I. Though this is a very common objection it rests, in our judgment, upon a false basis, viz., that if a prophet sees visions at one time and records them, he must continue to do so, or otherwise keep silence. Amos 1–6 and Hos. 4–14, however, contradict this principle. Even Zech. 7 and 8 do not contain visions and yet they are not denied to Zechariah on this account. Indeed, as a matter of fact, visions actually occur in Part II. only of an historico-parabolic (*e. g.*, 11:4–17) and eschatological character (9:13–17, 12 and 14). As Driver allows (p. 332), "this objection in itself is not incompatible with identity of author." 2. *No dates*, as in Zech. 1:1, 7; 7:1 and Haggai. But dates are frequently attached to visions in the Old Testament (*cf.* Isa. 6:1; Ezek. 1:1–3; 8:1; 40:1; Dan. 7:1), whereas oracles (מַשָּׂא) such as 9–11; 12–14, are always (one exception only in entire Old Testament, viz., Isa. 14:28), found without dates as here (*e. g.*, *cf.* Isa. 13:1; 15:1; 17:1; 19:1; 21:1, 11, 13; 22:1; 23:1; 30:6; Nah. 1:1; Hab. 1:1; Mal. 1:1). 3. *No Satan* is mentioned in Part II. But Satan is never mentioned in any prophecy of the Old Testament elsewhere than in Zech. 3:1, 2. 4. *No interpreting angel* in 9–14.

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But this is a most superficial objection as the nature of the oracles in Part II. requires no interpreting angel. The Angel of Jehovah, on the contrary, is mentioned in both parts (3:1 *sq.*, and 12:8), —a fact which is far more noteworthy (*cf.* Grützmacher p. 31). Moreover the כָּל־קְדֹשִׁים of 14:5 are universally interpreted "accompanying angels"; consequently the two parts of Zech. from the standpoint of angelology are not diverse (*cf.* 1:9, 11; 2:1; 3:7; 6:1). 5. *No "eyes"* in Part II., as in 3:9; 4:10, as though one might reasonably expect to find eyes in the limbs of a human body as well as in the head! 6. *Proper names* are wanting in Part II., *e. g.*, Zerubbabel and Joshua. But neither do these names occur in chs. 7 and 8. Joseph and Ephraim, on the other hand, which are not mentioned in Part I., are synonyms of Israel (9:10, 13; 10:6, 7), and their absence proves nothing. On the contrary, Jerusalem, Judah, house of Judah, and Zion are common to both parts. 7. *The sins* alluded to in the two parts are different (Grützmacher, p. 32); *e. g.*, theft and false-swearing in 5:3, 4, enmity toward one another in 8:17; while in 10:2 seeking teraphim, and in 13:2 *sq.*, false prophecy. But these sins are not of such a nature that they are mutually exclusive, so that it were impossible for them to have existed side by side. What is far more noteworthy is that in both parts the prophet declares that these evils shall be taken away and *removed out of the land* (*cf.* 3:9; 5:9–11; 13:1, 2). 8. *The Messianic pictures* are different. In Part I. the Messiah is צֶמַח—Priest (3:8, 9; 6:12,13); in Part II. מַלְכֵּךְ, king (9:9, 10). This objection is urged by Kuiper also. But the same argument weighs quite as heavily against the unity of chs. 9–14, which Kuiper passes as of no particular value. Objection is also made to the different pictures given in Parts I. and II. concerning the conversion of the heathen. But in both parts the promises are eschatological (*vs.* Kuiper, p. 94); in both the heathen worship Jehovah voluntarily (*vs.* Montet, pp. 89, 90), and in both the language and thought are similar (*vs.* Grützmacher, p. 32). The one particularly noteworthy picture common to both parts is the coming up of the nations to Jerusalem,—"the middle point of the world" (2:15; 8:20–23; 9:7; 14:16–19, *cf.* Marti, *Sach.* p. 121). 9. *The diction and style* are diverse; Part I. being prose, but Part II. poetry, (in truth,

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however, only chs. 9, 10, and 11:1–3 are poetic). Special emphasis being laid on certain formulæ of expression characteristic of one part but disappearing in the other. For example, וְהָיָה occurs twice in Part I. (6:15; 8:13); whereas in Part II. 18 times. But the same expression is used to prove the disunity of chs. 9–14 (*e. g.*, it occurs but once in 9–11, but 17 times in 12–14); it may be still further employed in the interests of Staerk's hypothesis, for the ratio here is 1 to 17. Hence the force of such argumentation! The same may be said of such expressions as, כֹּה אָמַר וָאֶשָּׂה, וַיְהִי דְבַר יְהוָה אֶל־, כִּי י׳ צְבָאוֹת שְׁלָחַנִי, יְהוָה צְבָאוֹת עֵינַי וָאֵרֶא, and אֲדוֹן כָּל־הָאָרֶץ. The prophetic expression נְאֻם יְהוָה occurs frequently in both parts, but being so common a formula in the prophets, proves nothing. Also בַּיּוֹם הַהוּא, which occurs but 3 times in Part I. (2:15; 3:10; 6:10), whereas in Part II. 19 times, carries no force with it; for it is to be observed that when Zechariah rises to an apocalyptic vision he uses the same mode of expression (*cf.* בַּיָּמִים הָהֵמָּה, 8:23). Again, this expression is used by Kuenen to disprove the unity of chs. 9–14 (for in 9–11 it occurs but twice; in 12–14, on the contrary, 14 times); but in that case it was explained by the difference in subject matter—an explanation which holds good in the present case quite as well.

To these Eckardt (p. 104) adds a list of words which, in his judgment, are irreconcilable with unity of authorship. The following are those of real importance: (a) *Certain words are employed in different senses in Parts I. and II.* Thus רָאָה is used in chs. 1–8 mostly in connection with prophetic appearance; in 9–14, never. But compare 12:4; 9:14 and 9:8, which last implies all the visions of chs. 1–6, "For now have I seen (רָאָה) with mine eyes." Further Eckardt observes, that כָּל־הָאָרֶץ in Zech. 1–8 always implies "the whole earth"; whereas in 9–14, Palestine only. But *cf.* 5:3 and 14:9—two undeniable exceptions. Likewise גּוֹלָה exiles in 6:10, but exile in 14:2, and הוֹד glory in 6:13, but splendor in 10:3. One of Zechariah's characteristics, however, is to use words in different senses, *e. g.*, כָּנָף wing in 5:9, but skirt in 8:20; חַטַּאת, sin in 13:1, but plague in 14:19; קְרָב midst in 14:1, but battle in 14:3; רוּחַ wind (2:10;

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5:9; 6:5), but spirit (4:6; 6:8; 7:12, *cf.* 12:1; 13:2; 12:10). This argument also is used against the unity of chs. 9–14, which unity Eckardt defends. (b) *Certain words in Part I. are expressed in Part II. by means of synonyms.* Thus שְׁאֵרִית remnant in 8:6,11,12 is expressed by יֶתֶר in 14:2. But *cf.* הַנִּשְׁאָרוֹת (11:9; 12:14). Again הַנַּעַר youth (2:8), but בְּחוּרִים (9:17). But *cf.* הַנַּעַר (11:16) and מְנַעֲרֵי (13:5). Further, עֲטָרָה (6:11, 14), but זֵר (9:16); מִשְׁעֶנֶת staff (8:4), but מַקֵּל (11:7, 10, 14); עָוֹן iniquity (3:5,9), but חַטַּאת (13:1); נָחַל possess (2:16; 8:12), but הוֹרִישׁ (9:4); שָׁמֵם desolate (7:14), but שָׁדַד (11:2,3). But the use of synonyms is another prominent characteristic of Zechariah, *e.g.*, קָו line (1:16), but חֶבֶל מְדָדָה (2:5); בַּיִת temple, 1:16; 3:7; 4:9; 7:3; 8:9), but הֵיכָל (6:12, 13, 14; 8:9); עָמַד stand (3:4), but יָצַב (6:5). *Cf.* the idea "without walls" in פְּרָזוֹת (2:8) and חוֹמַת אֵשׁ (2:9). And in Part II., הַמַּגֵּפָה plague (14:12, 15), but חַטַּאת (14:19); אֹהֶל tent (12:7), but מַחֲנֶה (14:15); עֵדֶר flock (10:3), but צֹאן (9:16; 10:2); דֶּלֶת (11:1), but שַׁעַר (14:10). (c) *Syntax, e. g.*, the Inf. Abs. which in Zech. 1–8 stands sometimes *before* (6:15), sometimes *after* (8:21) the verb intended to be strengthened; in 9–14 on the contrary always *before*. But the Inf. Abs. occurs but twice in 1–8, and but three times in 9–14 (viz., 11:17 twice, and 12:3), a fact which makes Eckardt's argument somewhat specious (*cf.* further 3:4; 7:5; 12:10). Again Eckardt calls attention to Zechariah's fondness for the *figura etymologica*, or object accusative in narrower as well as broader sense. But the same is true of chs. 9–14; indeed there are exactly eight instances in Part I. and seven in Part II.: קָצַף (3:7), קָצַף (1:2, 15), קִנֵּא קִנְאָה גְדוֹלָה (1:14; 8:2), שָׁמַר מִשְׁמֶרֶת הוּכַן עַל־מְכֻנָתָהּ (5:11), שָׁפַט מִשְׁפָּט (7:9; 8:16); and in Part II., נָגַף מַגֵּפָה (14:12,18), יָקַר יָקָר (11:13), הַמַּכּוֹת אֲשֶׁר הִכֵּיתִי (13:6), חָגַג חַג (14:16, 18, 19). In this connection it is also to be observed that in both parts the definition of a proper name is explained by means of a common noun or verb; *e. g.*, . . . וְהַשָּׂטָן לְשִׂטְנוֹ (3:1), צֶמַח . . יִצְמַח (6:12) and וְתֵבֶן צוֹר מָצוֹר (9:3).

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Further, Eckardt observes that in Zech. 1–8 the prophet shows a preference for אֵת with suffixes, rather than for verbal suffixes. But according to his own count (pp. 97 and 106) אֵת with suffixes occurs in Part I. 10 times and verbal suffixes 17 times; whereas, in Part II. the proportion is 6 to 22,—a not very decisive difference, especially since the proportion in Part II. proves (as seen above) the exact opposite of Eckardt's hypothesis, viz., the *early* post-exilic origin of Zech. 9–14.

These are the chief objections to the genuineness of chs. 9–14. We grant that there are differences between them and Zech. 1–8 which at first glance are striking, yet we are not able to conclude that these differences are too great to admit of their integrity, nor to say with Rubinkam, that "what is most characteristically present in 1–8 as a whole, is most characteristically absent from 9–14 as a whole."

II. *The arguments in favor of the Zecharian origin of chs. 9–14.*—In addition to what has already been claimed in support of the genuineness of these prophecies, we offer the following considerations:

1. *The fundamental ideas of both parts are the same.* By this we mean that the deeper we go the nearer we approach unity. We are here forced to differ with Driver (p. 332) who claims that "the dominant ideas and representations of chs. 1–8 are very different from those either of chs. 9–11 or of chs. 12–14." On the contrary the fundamental difference between Parts I. and II. is not subject but nature (*cf.* Wellhausen, *Encyc. Brit.*). Certain similarities are especially noteworthy, viz., (a) *An unusually deep, spiritual tone pervades the entire book.* The call to a true repentance, first sounded forth in the introduction (1:1–7), is developed more and more throughout the entire fourteen chapters, *e. g.*, in the sanctifying of Joshua (3:4), in the message to Zerubbabel, "not by might nor by power but by my Spirit" (4:6), in the conditions of future blessing (6:15), in the answer to the Bethel deputation (7:5–9; 8:16 *sq.*); and in Part II. in the consecration of the remnant of the Philistines (9:7), in the blessings to Ephraim (10:12), in the baptism of grace upon Jerusalem (12:10), in the fountain for sin (13:1), in the worship of Jehovah (13:9), in the living waters going forth from Jerusalem

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(14:8), and in the dedication of everything as holy unto the Lord (14:20, 21). The tone which tempers these prophecies is an extraordinarily deep and spiritual one. (b) *There is a similar attitude of hope and expectation in both parts.* This is especially important. For example, (α) the return of the whole nation is a prevailing idea of happiness in both parts (2:6, 10; 8:7, 8; 9:12; 10:6, 7). (β) The expectation that Jerusalem shall be inhabited (1:16, 17; 2:16; 8:3, 8; 12:6; 14:11; 14:10). (γ) And that the temple shall be built and become the center of the nation's religious life (1:16, 17; 3:7; 6:15; 7:2, 3; 9:8; 14:20, 21). (δ) Messianic hope is peculiarly strong in both (3:8, 9; 6:12, 13; 9:9, 10; 11:12; 12:10; 13:1, 7–9). (ε) Peace and prosperity are expected (3:10; 1:17; 6:13; 8:12, 19; 9:10, 12, 17; 10:1, 7, 8, 10, 12; 12:8; 14:11; 14:16–19). (ζ) The idea of God's providence as extending to the whole earth (1:14–17; 2:9, 12; 4:10; 6:5; 9:1, 8, 14; 10:3, 5, 9, 12; 12:2; 12:3, 4, 8; 13:7; 14:3, 9). (c) *The prophet's attitude toward Judah is the same in both parts.* It is an attitude of supreme regard for Judah's interests, making them second only to the capital (2:2, 4, 16; 8:19; 1:12; *cf.* 8:13, 15; 12:2; 14:14; 10:3; 12:4, 6, 7; 14:21; *cf.* 9:9, 13; 10:6; 11:14; 14:5). (d) *The prophet's attitude toward the nations, the enemies of the theocracy, is the same in both parts.* The whole assembled world are the enemies of Israel (*cf.* Wellhausen, p. 174). But though they have scattered Judah, Israel and Jerusalem (1:11, and are still coming up to besiege Jerusalem (12:2; 14:2), yet they shall be joined to the Lord in that day (2:15) and worship Jehovah like the Jews (8:20–23; 14:16–19). These are all striking instances of similarity in the fundamental ideas of the two parts.

2. *There are peculiarities of thought common to both parts.* (a) *The habit of dwelling on the same thought.* For example, twice in rapid succession the prophet announces Jehovah's promise to Zion, "I will dwell in the midst of thee" (2:14, 15). Twice it is told that the branch shall build the temple of Jehovah (6:12, 13). Twice the nations are described as seeking the Lord of hosts to pray to him (8:21, 22). And twice he pictures the scenes in the streets of Jerusalem in that day (8:4, 5). On the other hand, in Part II. twice in one verse the prophet declares,

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"And I fed the flock" (11:7). Twice he designates the parents of a false prophet as "the father and the mother who bore him" (13:3). Twice in one verse he predicts, "and ye shall flee" (14:5). And thrice he uses the expression, "to keep the feast of tabernacles" (14:16, 18, 19). (b) *The habit of expanding one fundamental thought into the unusual number of five parallel clauses* (first observed by Köster); *e. g.*, 6:13,

(α) "And he shall build the temple of the Lord";
(β) "And he shall bear the glory";
(γ) "And shall sit and rule upon his throne";
(δ) "And shall be a priest upon his throne";
(ε) "And the counsel of peace shall be between them both";

(*cf.* 9:5, 7; 1:17; 3:8, 9; 12:4). (c) *The habit of referring to a thought already introduced; e. g.*, to the Branch (3:8 and 6:12); "eyes" (3:9 and 4:10); measuring line (1:16 and 2:5, 6); idea of choosing Jerusalem (1:17; 2:16 and 3:2); removing iniquity (3:9; 5:3 *sq.* and 13:2); measurements (2:6; 5:24 and 14:10); colors of horses (1:5 and 6:2, 6); the idea of Israel as a "flock" (9:16; 10:2; 11:4 *sq.*; 13:7); idols (10:2 and 13:2); of "all nations" (11:10; 12:3 *sq.*, and 14:2 *sq.*); shepherds (11:3 *sq.* and 13:7). Also the "one day" of 3:9 and the day of atonement in 14:16. The author of Job furnishes in this instance a good parallel (*e. g.*, Job 39; 9–11; 21–23). (d) *The use made of the cardinal number "two";* thus two olive trees (4:3), two women (5:9); two mountains (6:1), two staves (11:7), two parts (14:2,4) with which *cf.* 6:13; 9:12; 14:8. (e) *The resort made by the prophet to symbolic actions as a mode of instruction*; *e. g.*, the coronation scene in 6:9–15 and the breaking of the two staves in 11:4–14. (f) *The habit of drawing lessons from the past; e g.*, 1:1–7, 15; 7:7, 11–14; 8:11, 13; 9:8; 10:1, 2; 11:4–17 (*cf.* Ezek. 17 and 19—also parables concerning the past), 12:11; 14:5, 3, 21. All these are peculiarities of thought quite characteristic of our prophet, and worthy of more than passing notice.

3. *Certain peculiarities of diction and style favor unity of authorship.* Eckardt (p. 104) frankly allows that the following word-list has weight in favor of the unity of Zechariah; thus שָׁלַל (2:13; 14:1), שָׁכַר (8:10; 11:12), שֶׁקֶר (5:4; 8:17; 10:2; 13:3), רַחֵם (1:12; 10:6), נִחַם (1:17; 10:2), הֵסִיר 3:4; 9:7) הֶעֱבִיר (3:4;

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13:2). For "south" both parts have נֶגֶב (7:7; 14:4, 10), and also תֵּימָן (6:6; 9:14)). Especially יָשַׁב pass. (2:8; 9:5; 12:6; *cf.* 14:10, 11), בִּקֵּשׁ with לְ and Inf. (6:7; 12:9) but also in sense of *quaero* (8:21, 22; 11:16); and the very noteworthy מֵעֹבֵר וּמִשָּׁב (7:14; 9, 8). These coincidences in vocabulary are undeniably powerful witnesses in favor of unity. To these may be added the following, which in many respects are quite as remarkable; *e. g.*, סָפַד (7:5; 12:10), מְצוּלָה (1:8; 10:11), בֶּגֶד (3:3, 4; 14:4), שָׁמַח (2:14; 4:10; 10:7), הִשְׁלִיךְ (5:8; 11:12), נָטָה (1:16; 12:1), נָצַל (3:2; 11:6), עַל־יָמִין וְעַל־שְׂמֹאול (4:11; 12:6; *cf.* 4:3; 3:1), הוֹי (2:10; 11:17), בַּת־צִיּוֹן (2:14; 9:9), חֵן (4:7; 12:10), שָׁעַר (8:16; 14:10), מָשָׁל (6:13; 9:10), אֲדָמָה (9:16; 2:16; 13:5), יָסַד (4:9; 12:1), כָּמוֹ (5:3; 9:15; 10:2, 7, 8), מֵאֵת (6:10; 7:12; 11:10; 14:17; *cf.* מֵ privative in 7:14; 9:8; LXX., Lowe, p. 82). The use of the expression "one toward another" in its different forms אִישׁ בְּרֵעֵהוּ (7:9, 10) and אִישׁ אֶת־אָחִיו (8:10, 16, 17; 3:10; 11:6, 9; 14:3), אֶחָד for the indefinite article (5:7; 12:7). The expressions "holy land" (2:16) and "mount of Olives" (14:4) nowhere else used in the O. T. The similar modes of expression and terminology: (*a*) עַבְדִּי (3:8) and רֹעִי and עָמִיתִי (13:7). (*b*) יְהוּדִי (8:23) and יְבוּסִי (9:7). (*c*) שִׁבְעָה וְשִׁבְעָה (4:2) and מִשְׁפָּחוֹת מִשְׁפָּחוֹת (12:12). The author's preference for and frequent use of vocatives, *e. g.*, Zion (2:11; 9:13), great mountain (4:7), daughter of Zion (2:14; 9:9), O all flesh (2:17), Satan (3:2), Joshua (3:8), O sword (13:7), daughter of Jerusalem (9:9), prisoners of hope (9:12), O Lebanon (11:1), O fir-tree and Oaks of Bashan (11:2), O poor of the flock (11:7). Again, clumsy diction is a characteristic of both parts, *e. g.*, עוֹד (4 times in 1:17). צוֹם (4 times in 8:19), נָתַן (3 times in 8:12), זֹאת (3 times in 5:5–8), לְבַד (11 times), מִשְׁפָּחָה (9 times) and נְשֵׁיהֶם (5 times in 12:12–14). Lastly, the *scriptio plena* and *scriptio defectiva* alternate most remarkably in both parts: thus in Part I., אֲבוֹתֵיכֶם (1:2, 5), but אֲבֹתֵיכֶם (1:4, 6; 8:14); יוֹשֶׁבֶת (2:11; 5:7), but יֹשֶׁבֶת (1:11; 7:7); צוֹאֲים (3:3), but הַצֹּאֲים (3:4), הָעוֹפֶרֶת (5:8), but עֹפֶרֶת (5:7); יוֹצְאוֹת (5:9; 6:5), but יֹצְאוֹת (6:1); עֲטָרוֹת (6:11), but הָעֲטָרֹת (6:14); לַיּוֹצֵא (8:10), but יֹצֵא (2:7);

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עוֹד (1:17; 2:17), but עֹד (8:20); יוֹשְׁבֵי and יֹשְׁבֵי (8:20). In Part II., הוֹבִישׁ (9:5), but הֹבִישׁוּ (10:5, 11); נוֹגֵשׁ (10:4), but נֹגֵשׁ (9:9); הָפֵר (11:10), but הָפֵר (11:14); יוֹשֵׁב יְרוּשָׁלַם (12:8), but יֹשֵׁב יְרוּשָׁלַם (12:7); מְשִׁפָּחוֹת, but also מִשְׁפָּחוֹת (12:14). In what other book is the orthography so vacillating? But *cf* further, גֵּיא־הִנֹּם and גֵּי־הִנֹּם (14:5), בְּהִנָּבְאוֹ Niph. Inf. (13:3) and בְּהִנָּבְאֹתוֹ (13:4) also Niph. Inf. from the same root, but formed after the ל״ה manner. Likewise וַהֲשִׁבוֹתִים (10:10; 13:7) and וְהוֹשְׁבוֹתִים (10:6); and כְּצֹאן (9:16) with כְּמוֹ צֹאן (10:2). In our judgment the orthography of the Book of Zechariah is one of the strongest evidences that it was all written by one hand.

4. *Zech. 1–8 shows familiarity with the same books of prophecy as those so often quoted by the author of chs. 9–14.* (a) *Zech 1–8 shows familiarity with Ezekiel.* One or two examples will suffice. In Ezek. 35 the announcement "ye shall know that I am the Lord" occurs in vs. 9, 12 and 15. The same thought is found in Zech. 2:13, 15; 4:9; 6:15. This, however, is not so noteworthy in itself; but when it is observed that the unusual idiom מֵעֹבֵר וּמִשָּׁב (Zech. 7:14) is found in essentially the same form in Ezek. 35:7, it becomes more striking, as it illustrates the fact that whole sections of earlier prophecy are reëchoed in the book of Zechariah,—and no book more naturally than Ezekiel. Especially is this phenomenon noteworthy when we remember that the preceding chapter (Ezek. 34) containing the figure of the shepherd and his flock was found to form the basis of the allegory in Zech. 11:4–14. The natural conclusion is, that Zechariah was familiar with Ezekiel, and that only when both parts of his prophecies are studied together is their interrelation explained. For other instances, *cf.* Ezek. 11:19, with Zech. 7:12 and Ezek. 11:20 with Zech. 8:8. (b) *Zech. 1:8 exhibits acquaintanceship with Jeremiah.* Thus the inquiry, "would it be marvelous in my eyes?" (Zech. 8:6) seems to have a basis in Jer. 32:27, "Is anything too hard for me?" Also the clause וְהָיָה אִם־שָׁמוֹעַ תִּשְׁמְעוּן (Zech. 6:15) is found in Jer. 17:24. But especially the double allusion in Zech. to the "Branch" (3:8; 6:12) which has its foundation in Jeremiah's "Branch of right-

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eousness" 23:5; 33:15). Dependent relations also exist between Zech. 7:13 and Jer. 11:11, Zech. 7:14 and Jer. 16:13, Zech. 8:3 and Jer. 31:23. Likewise, according to Wildeboer (*Entstehung des A. T. Kanons*, § 26), between Zech. 1:12 and Jer. 25:11, 12; 29:10, etc. (c) *Close resemblances also exist between Zech. 1–8 and Isa. 40–66.* In Isa. 48:20 Jacob is exhorted to "flee from the Chaldeans," so Zion in Zech. 2:10, *cf.* Isa. 52:11. The expression "in truth and righteousness" (Zech. 8:8) stands in contrast with that in Isa. 48:1, "not in truth nor in righteousness." Zechariah's idea of fasting (chs. 7 and 8) that it terminates on the individual and is of little importance in comparison to executing judgment and mercy, is but an enlargement of the idea in Isa. 58:3–7, where the prophet teaches that true fasting consists in feeding the hungry, clothing the naked, removing burdens and letting the oppressed go free.

5. *Finally, the history of modern critical opinion is a tacit proof of the unity of Zechariah.* As we have already seen, the *variety* of critical opinion is simply marvelous. To almost every century, from Amos to Judas Maccabeus, has modern scholarship assigned chs. 9–14, with comparatively little unanimity. This fact in itself, in our opinion, gives room for doubt as to the present results of criticism; but on the other hand, teaches the appropriateness of prophecy to speak to every age.

One further question remains: viz., how came chs. 9–14, if anonymous, to be added to Zech. 1–8? Answers: 1. *Stade* replies that they were not intended so, as chs. 9–14, with Malachi, formed at one time a small collection by themselves, the antithesis of Mal. 1:11 and 14:9 having caused their separation (*cf.* Kuiper). But this explains only how Malachi and Zech. 9:14 were *separated*, which is altogether gratuitous, as there is no proof whatever that they ever formed one anonymous collection by themselves. The real problem rather is, how came chs. 9–14 to be *added* to Zechariah's prophecies? 2. *Cornill* (p. 204) answers that "chs. 9–14, like Malachi, were anonymous, but *being less of a unit* than Malachi they were united to Zech. 1–8, whereas Malachi was set off by itself." (So also Wildeboer.) But this only shows that chs. 9–14 are not a unit or complete in themselves (*cf.* Kuenen, p.

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425; Grützmacher, pp. 50, 51; Kirkpatrick, p. 452; Cheyne, *JQR.* I., 1889, p. 80). We grant the similarity of the three titles, 9:1; 12:1 and Mal. 1:1; but, on the other hand, we ask: (*a*) If chs. 9–14 are of *pre-exilic* origin, why were they added to the *post-exilic* prophecies of Zechariah and not to Obadiah or Jonah? (*b*) If of Græco-Maccabean origin, how found they place in the *prophetic* Canon while Daniel did not? Or, if this is not so difficult, why were they not added to Haggai instead of Zech. 1–8? (*c*) What real evidence have we that 12:1 is not original?

SUMMARY AND CONCLUSION.

Summing up the results of our study of the prophecies of Zechariah we conclude:

1. *That chs. 9–14 are of post-exilic origin;* because (*a*) the exile is represented as an event of the past. (*b*) The author dissociates himself from pre-exilic events. (*c*) Certain passages promising victory and temporal prosperity are so unlike the prophecies of Amos, Hosea, Isaiah, and Jeremiah,—the alleged contemporaries of the authors of 9–14,—that they could only have been misleading to peoples confronted by the catastrophies of 722 and 586 B. C. (*d*) The development of the Messianic idea demands a late date, not only on account of the newness of the prophet's pictures and his attempt to unify previous predictions, but also on account of the highly apocalyptic character of these oracles throughout. (*e*) The manifest dependence of the prophet on Ezekiel, Jeremiah, and Isa. 40–66 corroborates the same conclusion. And further, because all the passages brought forward in favor of the pre-exilic origin of these prophecies can, in our judgment, be better explained in the period after the exile; *e. g.*, 9:13, concerning the בְּנֵי יָוָן, which is confessedly inexplicable in the eighth century B. C.

2. *That these chapters are not, however, late post-exilic;* because, (*a*) in matters pertaining to language and style the distinctive characteristics of the Hebrew of Græco-Maccabean times are chiefly wanting. Thus, there are few Aramaisms. The *scriptio plena* and *scriptio defectiva* are strikingly confused. The late form of the Pers. Pron. אֲנִי does not predominate over אָנֹכִי. The ending וֹן is used but twice and consequently has no weight. The

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nota accusativi אֵת with suffixes occurs less often in chs. 9–14 than in Zech. 1–8. The article is not specially wanting; neither is the use made of the Inf. Abs. nor of clumsy diction more pronounced in Part II. than Part I. (*b*) On the other hand, the historical data alleged in favor of a Græco-Maccabean date are, in our judgment, quite foreign to the prophecies; *e. g.*, (*a*) 14:9, instead of being a polemic against Mal. 1:11 by a writer living in Grecian times, as Stade claims, is a simple reflection of the age of Darius Hystaspes when the whole world was practically under one sovereign. (*β*) 12:2 *b*, instead of making Judah fight with the enemy against Jerusalem, represents Judah as fighting with Jerusalem against the enemy. (*γ*) 12:12–14 divides the congregation into civil and ecclesiastical divisions, and portrays not Greek but early Persian times before the house of David had degenerated. (*δ*) Another is 10:10, 11, in which, as in Isa. 27:12; Ps. 83:9; Mic. 5:4, 5, there is absolutely no basis for interpreting Assyria and Egypt to mean the Seleucidæ and Ptolemies; but which, on the contrary, after the analogy of Ezr. 6:22 (*cf.* 2 Kgs., 23:29; Ezr. 5:13; Neh. 13:6) implies Persia and Egypt. (*ε*) Also 9:13—the chief passage in favor of a late date. For, in our opinion, the reference to the בְּנֵי יָוָן is too indefinite to be after 333 B. C. Javan experiences defeat instead of victory. The context does not suit Grecian times. Furthermore, the subsequent description in 9:14–17 is apocalyptic.

3. *That these chapters had their origin in the period between 518 and 516 B. C.* For, (*a*) Javan was already a world-power before the beginning of the 5th century B. C., as shown by both scripture (*cf.* Gen. 10:2; Isa. 66:19; Ezek. 27:13; Joel 4:6), and history; *e. g.*, in 516 B. C. Darius was suddenly called to look after Persian interests in Asia Minor; in 500 the Ionians revolted; a year later the Athenians burned Sardis, and in 490 Marathon was fought and Persia was defeated. These facts show clearly enough that Javan was *a* world-power in Darius' reign. Our prophecies do not require us to think of the Greeks as *the* only world-power of the prophet's day. (*b*) The temple was still in process of construction. This is evident (*a*) from the exultant Messianic hope and expectation which characterizes these prophecies, and which no age would so naturally have produced as when

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the temple was reaching completion. (β) From the hortatory tone of the prophet, which was especially appropriate in this period,—particularly the prophet's frequent reference to history as an argument for the present. (γ) From the fact that Israel's chief interests are made to center in Jerusalem where the temple was. (δ) Certain passages are best explained in this period (*e. g.*, 9:8, 10, 12; 10:2; 13:2–6; 14:9, 10; 18:20). (ε) The absence of all allusion to any single event after the dedication of the temple in 516 B. C. (*c*) Again, no period allows of the unity of chs. 9–14 so well as the years 518–516 B. C.

4. *That these chapters stand in close relation to chs. 1–8, having most probably been composed by Zechariah himself.* The common objections to the unity of the book of Zechariah, viz., that in Part II. there are no visions, no dates, no Satan, no interpreting angels, no eyes, etc., as there are in Part I., have, in our judgment, but little force. Even Eckardt's arguments on the basis of language lose their value, inasmuch as the use of words in different senses and the employment of synonyms are quite as characteristic of each part separately as of both parts together. On the other hand there are positive reasons for attributing these last six chapters to Zechariah, viz., (*a*) the fundamental ideas of both parts are the same. Thus the same spiritual tone and the same attitude of hope and expectation pervade both parts. Likewise the prophet's attitude toward Judah and toward the enemies of the theocracy is the same throughout. (*b*) Certain peculiarities of thought are common to both parts, *e. g.*, the habit of dwelling on the same thought, of expanding it into separate ideas, and of referring to a thought already introduced, especially the habit of drawing lessons from the past. (*c*) Certain peculiarities of diction and style bind Parts I. and II. together, in our opinion, quite as firmly as those which unite chs. 9–11 to chs. 12–14, *e. g.*, (α) the words נֶגֶב and תֵּימָן for "south" in both parts, בִּקֵּשׁ in sense of *quaero*, and with ל and Inf. in the sense of *studeo*, both in both parts, etc. (β) the frequent use of vocatives throughout. (γ) The clumsy diction and frequent repetitions in both parts. (δ) But especially the alternating use of *scriptio plena* and *scriptio defectiva*, which characterizes so conspicuously both parts and renders it almost conclusive that one author wrote the whole book.

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THE FAITH OF AL-ISLĀM.

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In the following pages an attempt is made to give some idea of orthodox Muslim theology by translating and annotating an original tractate.[1] We have had many books and articles upon this subject, but our first-hand knowledge is still slight, and such a document as is given here,—which may be compared to the Westminster Confession or, perhaps, better, to the Westminster Shorter Catechism,—brings us face to face with the ideas and mental attitude of the Muslim theologian to a degree that can be attained through no statement that has been worked over by Western minds and has thus, of necessity, received a more or less marked Western imprint. Creeds and all statements of religious belief must be taken at their best, and that is as they are in themselves.

The full name of the author of this little treatise was Najm ad-Dīn Abū Ḥafṣ ʿUmar ibn Muḥammad ibn Aḥmad ibn Ismāʿīl ibn Muḥammad ʿAlī ibn Luqmān, an-Nasafī as-Samarqandī al-Ḥanafī. *Najm ad-Dīn* is a title of honor given to him by his contemporaries and means "Star of the Faith"; *Abū Ḥafṣ* implies that he had a son named *Ḥafṣ*, and would be the name used by familiar friends; *ʿUmar* was his own proper name given in infancy, and the names that follow, joined by *ibn*, "son," trace his genealogy. *An-Nasafī* means that he was a native of the town *Nasaf*, now *Karshī*, in the Khānate of Bukhārā, about eighty miles southwest of Samarqand, to which place he must have migrated at

[1] The Arabic text was published by Cureton in his *Pillar of the Creed of the Sunnites*, London, 1843, but as given there, is disfigured by many corruptions. I have been materially assisted in my translation by one of the copies in the Hartford Seminary Library, which has on the margin the collation of another MS. What MS. this is I am unable to tell, but it is distinctly superior to that from which Cureton printed. This collated copy came, I believe, from August Müller's library but the collation does not seem to be in his hand. As my translation is thus sometimes based on these various readings and sometimes on conjecture, I would beg any stray Arabist who may consult it not to blame me if it does not always agree with Cureton's printed text. I have made no attempt to indicate where I have diverged.

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some time and thus gained the addition *as-Samarqandī*, "the man of Samarqand." Finally, *al-Ḥanafī* means that he was an adherent of the school of Muslim law founded by Abū Ḥanīfa, the greatest jurist of *al-Islām* and the broadest minded, most tolerant and liberal of the four great Imāms or leaders in theology and law.

The facts that have come down to us of the life of Abū Ḥafṣ, to adopt his more familiar name, are few. He was born A. H. 461 (A. D. 1068) and died A. H. 537 (December 4, A. D. 1142). His biographers unite in praising his literary fertility and many-sidedness, but do not rate very highly his accuracy in questions of fact. He wrote about one hundred works, including a great Qur'ān commentary, a history of the learned men of Samarqand, a book of legal lexicography, and works in biography, the science of tradition, law, and theology. He was a poet, too, or passed for one, but the fates have had their revenge, and even as he versified a collection of traditions by a predecessor, so several have turned the theological tract which I propose to translate, into lamentable verses. In Ḥajjī Khalīfa's great encyclopædia of Arabic literature his name occurs at least thirty-nine times.

But of all his works, this little tract has certainly been the most popular. It is used to this day in the schools of Turkey and there have been written upon it most numerous commentaries and glosses. Ahlwardt in his "Catalogue of the Arabic MSS. in the Royal Library of Berlin" reckons up eight full commentaries, eighteen glosses, and four versifications, besides glosses upon those commentaries and, again, glosses upon those glosses. I believe, therefore, I am justified in taking it as a fair representative of the orthodox doctrine of *al-Islām* as it finally crystallized after four or five centuries of conflict. From the time of Abū Ḥafṣ to the present day there has been no change.

But though we know no events of his life, yet it will be of interest, and in fact necessary, for us to trace out to some extent the history and circumstances of his time. Only thus shall we be able to understand his attitude towards the great question of the Khalifate and the Imāmship. His life came in a time when dynasties rose and fell in the course of half a century and any soldier of fortune might hope to hew out a throne and, perhaps, to leave it to

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his son. The golden age of the unity of *al-Islām* was long passed. The realm once ruled by the Commander of the Faithful had broken up into many separate states which kept changing and melting one into the other—a despair to the historian, and an anti-Khalīfa had long held Egypt, claiming in virtue of the blood of Muḥammad to be the true Pontiff of *al-Islām*. It was the time of the brief glories of the Latin kingdom of Jerusalem and Saladin had not yet arisen to win back the Holy City. In the farther East the empire of Mahmūd of Ghazna had shriveled up before the Seljuks, whose empire, in its turn, was to break into separate states when the master-minds that had founded it were gone. The third and last of these, Mālik Shāh (reigned A.H. 465–85, A.D. 1072–92) extended the Seljuk boundary beyond the Oxus, taking in Bukhārā and Samarqand, and gave twenty years of peace for science, theology, and literature. His name is connected, for us, with that of Nizām al-Mulk, the scholar-statesman and real prop of his throne, and 'Umar Khayyām, the poet-astronomer, who reformed for him the calendar, and who, of all his countrymen, has come nearest to the feeling and the heart of our time. A fellow-student of theirs, in old days at Naysābūr, was Ḥasan ibn Sabbāḥ who, as the Old Man of the Mountain, was to be a name of terror in the crusades, add a word to the languages of Europe, and leave a sect that lingers to the present day. Such was the atmosphere in which Abū Ḥafṣ must have reached his twenty-fifth year—a time of rare peace amid the thunderstorms. When this brief breathing space had passed and the Seljuk empire had broken up, it was still possible for Sinjar, the son of Mālik Shāh, to draw together the extreme eastern provinces and hold his own. He reigned at Merv and in A. H. 495 (A. D. 1101) put a Seljuk governor over Samarqand. Thus Abū Ḥafṣ' life must have passed tranquilly on, but not to the very end. In A. H. 536 (A. D. 1141) came the first Mongol wave; on Friday, September 5th, the decisive battle was fought, Sinjar defeated, and Transoxiana lost. It was one of the great battles of the world, for it told what fifty years later would come when Chingiz Khān and his sons swept across Asia and half Europe and left a mark that has not yet been effaced. Abū Ḥafṣ survived the ruin of his country some fifteen months.

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During the reign of Mālik Shāh, the ʿAbbasside Khalīfa in Baghdād was a spiritual sovereign treated with deference as the successor of Muḥammad but possessing no real power. It is true that his rival in Egypt was not in better case. They could exchange anathemas but, unless the powers behind them chose, beyond anathemas they could not go. Later, when the Seljuk empire had broken up, the ʿAbbasside Khalīfa attained again the position of an independent temporal prince with territories and troops, such as they were, at his own command.

What the situation was may, perhaps, become more plain to us if we can imagine that the vast plans of Gregory VII. had been carried out and the Pope had become the temporal as well as the spiritual head of the Christian world. Such a situation would have been similar to that in the world of *al-Islām* at its earliest time, during some few years under the dynasty of the Umayyads, when the one temporal and spiritual sovereign ruled from Samarqand to Spain. Then we can imagine how the vast fabric of such an imperial system broke down by its own weight. Under conflicting claims of legitimacy an anti-Pope arose and the great schism began. Then the process of disintegration went on still further. Provinces rose in insurrection and dropped away from each. Kingdoms grew up and the sovereigns over them professed themselves to be the lieutenants of the supreme pontiff and sought investiture from him. Last, the states of the church itself—all that was left to it—came under the rule of some one of these princes, and the Pope was, to all intents, a prisoner in his palace. Such was the situation in the world of *al-Islām* during the early life of Abū Ḥafṣ when Mālik Shāh, the Seljuk, reigned, formally in virtue of investiture by the Khalīfa, really by right of the sword. Yet the sovereignty of the Khalīfa was not simply a legal fiction and a delusion, any more than it would have been so in the parallel I have sketched. Mālik Shāh found it well to have him as his supporter and recognizer, just as Napoleon I. had himself anointed Emperor by Pius VII. It strengthened his position with his subjects and especially with the theologians, an important body. Yet if it came to friction there could hardly be any question which side would have to give way, and thus the dignity of the Khalifate was in constant wane. Further, it suggested troublesome

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questions as to how there could be two or more such Khalīfas reigning at the same time or even a doubt of the absolute necessity of a Khalīfa at all. Historical students felt inclined to go back and ask if there was not a time when the Khalifate, the successorship to Muḥammad in the highest sense, ceased and a mere Imāmate, leadership, took its place and some made such a break after the first four Khalīfas and let the Imāms begin from that point. It was, thus, a time of transition, and it is difficult exactly to fix the view of Abū Ḥafṣ. We have seen that in his later days when the Seljuk empire went to pieces, the Khalīfa, in the confusion was able to draw together some wrecks of his temporal power and thus again to take his stand before the world as a sovereign prince. How this affected Abū Ḥafṣ it may be hard to say. His position seems to have varied between that of a scholastic theologian who pays no attention to outside things as they really are, but develops his ideal theories and that of the statesman who sees the necessities of his country and time, and how they must be met. He makes a distinction between Khalifate and Imāmate, but the Imām must be of the tribe of Quraysh, the tribe of the Prophet. He is not only to be a spiritual prince but a ruler too, one who can *rule* in emphatic sense, hold the frontiers of *al-Islām* against the unbelievers and render justice to his people. The first clause cuts out Mālik Shāh who certainly was not of the blood of Quraysh and had recognized the Khalīfa as his spiritual lord; the second cuts out the Khalīfa, for he certainly did not hold the frontiers nor did he render justice; all that was in other hands. Probably, we have a case of a theologian spinning theories and affected in patches, as theologians sometimes are, by common sense.

So much then for the life and times of our author. It will be necessary for me now to go back to sketch briefly the history of the development of the theology of *al-Islām* from the time of Muḥammad to the point where it attained its final form at the hands of al-Ghazzālī—called by all true believers the Defender of the Faith.

With the death of Muḥammad in the year 11 of the Hijra (A. D. 632), the community of *al-Islām* stood face to face with two great questions. Of the existence of the one they were con-

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scious, at least in its immediate form; the other lay still in the future. The necessity was upon them to choose a leader to take the place of the Prophet of God and thus to fix for all time what was to be the form of the Muslim state. Certainly they had little conception of what was involved in the great precedent they were about to establish, but nevertheless we have here, in this first elective council, the beginning of all the confusions, rivalries, and uncertainties that were to limit and finally to destroy the succession of Commanders of the Faithful. Muḥammad had ruled as an absolute monarch—a prophet in his own right—and now he had died and made no sign who should take up his power. He had no son, and though there had been such a direct successor, it is not probable that it would have affected the ultimate result. The old free spirit of the Arabs was too strong, and as in the Ignorance[2] the tribes had chosen from time to time their chief, so it was now fixed that in *al-Islām* the leader was to be elected by the people. The choice fell upon Abū Bakr, one of the earliest of the Believers, and a father-in-law of Muḥammad. On his death in A. H. 13 (A. D. 634) there followed 'Umar, the second founder of *al-Islām* by his genius as a ruler and organizer and his self-devotion as a man. Through his generals Damascus and Jerusalem were taken, Persia crushed in the great battles of al-Qādisīya and Nahāwand and Egypt conquered. He, too, had been an early believer, but upon his death in A. H. 24 (A. D. 644) there came the beginning of troubles in the election of 'Uthmān, of the Umayyad family. Abū Bakr and 'Umar had been old and faithful comrades of Muḥammad in his days of trial, but with this election the aristocratic party of Mecca, which had struggled against *al-Islām* so long as it was possible, came into power. 'Uthmān made himself hated by his nepotism and extravagance. He removed the governors of provinces who had suffered with the Prophet and fought in the Path of God, and put in their places his own relatives, late embracers of the Faith in the last days when Mecca was taken. In A. H. 35 (A. D. 655) he fell under

[2] The Time of Ignorance is the name given by the Arabs to their pre-Muslim condition. This is the common translation of the Arabic word but, probably, it indicated rather, at least to its first users, the time of Barbarism, as opposed to the civilizing influences of *al-Islām*. The contrast is not Ignorance and Knowledge but Barbarism and Civilization.

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the daggers of conspirators, and the first of many civil wars began. In a hasty election ʿAlī, the cousin and son-in-law of Muḥammad, was chosen successor. But he was strongly suspected of being art and part in the murder of ʿUthmān, and the family of Umayya had sworn revenge. The next five years were filled with alternate fightings and negotiations between ʿAlī, Muʿāwiya, the governor of Syria and head of the Umayyads, ʿĀ'isha, who had been the favorite wife of Muḥammad and now as a finished *intrigante* was the evil genius of *al-Islām*, and some of the old companions of Muḥammad.

Muʿāwiya won and founded the dynasty of the Umayyads, but with ʿAlī ends the revered series of "the four just Khalīfas," and begins the division of *al-Islām* into political sects. One of these was the Khawārij, who "went out" in the Jacobite sense—*Khawārij* means *goers out*—first against ʿAlī because he, after being duly elected by the Muslim community, had submitted his claims to arbitration, and then against the following Khalīfas as *un*duly elected and mere usurpers. They were in a sense the Independents of *al-Islām* and might be described with the Irishman of political anecdote as having been "agin everything." Among their different and conflicting sub-sects we find the most various views on the nature of the Imāmate or leadership. That the Imām must be of the tribe of the Prophet they generally rejected; any Muslim of good life could fill the post. Some went the length of denying the need of any Imām; the Muslim community was to be a perfect democracy and govern itself directly. Others admitted the right of a woman to be Imām, and if that division had triumphed it might now have been a possibility to solve the Eastern question by proclaiming the Empress of India as the Commander of the Faithful and the Khalīfa of Muḥammad. But as things are the Queen of England must content herself with being the greatest of the Sulṭāns of *al-Islām* and having as good, or as bad, a claim to the Khalifate as the Sulṭān of Constantinople.

Another and more important sect was the Shīʿa. The party of ʿAlī and of his sons, the grandsons of Muḥammad, lived on in strange, half-underground fashion, as religious and political sects do in the East, occasionally coming to the surface and bursting

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out in wild and, for long, useless rebellion. Persians mostly took up that cause and put into it a higher religious fervor and a different view of the state from that of the Arab party.[3] They rejected the idea of election by the community and asserted that the Imāmate was hereditary in the descendants of Muḥammad. This Shī'a sect—*Shī'a* itself means *sect*—spread quickly throughout all Persia, and by the time of the last Umayyad, Marwān II., A. H. 127–32 (A. D. 744–9) the whole empire was in rebellion. The Shī'ites themselves had no man strong enough to act as leader, and that part was taken by Abū-l-'Abbās, a descendant of al-'Abbās, an uncle of the Prophet, who used them for his own purposes, founded the dynasty of the 'Abbassides, and threw them over. But their cause, though lost for the time, was not lost forever. A conspiracy which is the strangest of all the romances of history grew up. A secret sect, the Ismā'īlites, spread itself through the Muslim world. Its tenets in the end were absolute atheism, almost the modern Nihilism, but its adherents were led to that gradually through advancing degrees, according to their pliability and fitness. Its political object was to overthrow the 'Abbassides and proclaim a descendant of 'Alī and Muḥammad as the legitimate Khalīfa. The conspiracy lived through generations and at last accomplished its purpose. In the year 298 of the Hijra (A. D. 910) a real or pretended descendant of the Prophet was proclaimed in North Africa and shortly after Egypt fell into their hands and the Fāṭimite dynasty was founded which outlasted that of 'Abbas and only fell, after a period of utter decrepitude, at the hands of the great Salāḥ ad-Dīn, the Saladin of our annals. One of the Khalīfas of this dynasty was the strange madman or genius, Ḥākim Bi'amrillāh, who vanished on the night of February 12, A. D. 1021, leaving a mystery that is unsolved to the present day. In many ways he reminds us curiously of the madness of the Julian house, and, in

[3] The history from this time on is practically that of a contest of Arab *versus* Persian. The two races could not mingle. In the pure Arab there is a Western dash of skeptical common sense that has kept him clear of many of the absurdities of the minor sects of *al-Islām*. Further, he is too individualistic to be a conspirator or to form a submissive and useful part in a solid system. The Persian, on the other hand, can throw himself into the wildest vagaries of mysticism and credulity. Even as a skeptic he is a skeptical mystic. He is a liar by nature—*pace* Herodotus—and fit for treasons and stratagems. It was the dream of the early 'Abbassides to unite the two races—hence the choice of Baghdad as a capital—but it failed.

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truth, such a secret movement as that of which he was part, carried on through generations from father to son, could not but leave a trace on the brain. He is still worshiped by the Druses of Lebanon as an incarnation of the deity, and his return is expected to introduce the end of all things. Similarly throughout the Muslim world the appearance of the last Imām of the house of ʿAlī is looked for. He is the twelfth in the series and has been kept for centuries in concealment, waiting his time. When he comes he will be the Mahdī—the *guided* of God—and will bring in His kingdom. So strangely does the theology of *al-Islām* mingle with the political crises of our own day.

This of the Fāṭimites[4] was the first and the great schism, and lasts, in a sense, to the present day. Modern Persia is formally Shīʿite and the Sulṭān of Constantinople professes to be Khalīfa by legacy from the last of the ʿAbassides who, by favor of the Mamlūks, held spiritual court in Egypt when that country was conquered in A. D. 1517, by Sulṭān Selīm for the Ottoman Turks.

I need only mention one other development of this strange story of the fates of the successors of Muḥammad. One of the Umayyads escaped the ruin of his family and fled through North Africa to Spain. There, with marvelous genius and endurance, he founded a new Umayyad empire, and in A. H. 317 (A. D. 929) a prince of that house was proclaimed Khalīfa of Muḥammad and Commander of the Faithful. Thus, at one time there were three princes each professing to be the one leader of the Muslim world.

So much is absolutely necessary to any understanding of the great question of the Imāmship. The theoretical position that the Imām must be elected by the Muslim community was never formally abandoned except by the Shīʿites, who held to the legitimism of the line of the Prophet. But, as we have seen in dealing with Abū Ḥafṣ' life, that theoretical opinion was liable to much modification in practice. The Muslim community practically resolved itself into the people of the capital and, still farther, into the bodyguard of the dead Khalīfa and, in line with this, the doctrine developed that it was the duty of the people to recog-

[4] The Fāṭimites derived their name from Fāṭima, the daughter of Muḥammad and wife of 'Alī.

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nize a *fait acccompli* and to do homage to a successful usurper—until another more successful should appear. This was the end of the democracy of *al-Islām*.

Such was the first question that lay before the Muslim community at the death of Muḥammad; the other developed more slowly but had a shorter history. So long as Muḥammad lived and received infallible revelations in solution of all questions of faith or practice that might come up, it is obvious that no system of theology could be formed or even thought of. Again, in the first twenty or thirty years after his death, the Muslims were too much occupied in propagating their faith to think what that faith exactly was. Later, when the civil wars of ʿAlī and Muʿāwiya forced men to reflection on the principles of their action, and when the Parsees and Christians who had found it advisable to embrace *al-Islām* began to exert an influence upon their new creed, the question of what the creed was could not fail to appear. It would begin through individuals forming opinions upon separate points and the body of believers accepting or rejecting these, according as it found them in accordance or not with their half-unconscious feeling of their faith. Naturally, the opinions which went to make theological history were those which were not accepted and became heresies. The first of these, though a heresy of an allowable kind held by some most orthodox men, was the view of the Murji'ites. It was a protest against the fatalism of Muslim life on its gloomy side. The earlier Muslims seem, to use more modern theological language, to have labored under a terrible consciousness of sin. They viewed the world as an utterly evil temptress, seducing men from heavenly things. Their lives were hedged about with sins, great and little, and each deserved the eternal wrath of God. The recollection of their latter end they kept ever before them, and the terrors that that would bring, for they felt that no amount of faith in God and his Prophet would save them in the judgment to come. To this the Murji'ites opposed a doctrine, Pauline in its conception. Faith, it was declared, saved and Faith only. If the sinner believed in God and his Prophet that was enough—he would not remain in the Fire. With this there seems to have grown up a further doctrine of the intercession of the Prophet for his people; that on the last

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day he would be permitted of God to make intercession for as many as he might choose and would lead them into Paradise. It is curious to notice that an at least possible interpretation of the mysterious name *Murji'ites* is the *People of Hope*—the larger hope. This broader view came in with the Umayyad dynasty, which was in many ways a return to pre-Muslim times, and their easy enjoyment of the world and the things of the world. They rejected the yoke of Muḥammad in all but form and name. Some, even, have traced in it the influence of John of Damascus, the last great doctor of the Greek church.

Later, there seems to have arisen the question that, at one time or another, confronts every thinking being, the question of free will. The Muslim church of Muḥammad's later years and of the early times after his death was strongly and absolutely predestinarian. But with the latter part of the first century a party arose—the Qadarites—which claimed for man a determining power in his own actions. Both sides could find support in the Qur'ān, for Muḥammad had been no theologian of the schools, had held no consciously explicit doctrine upon the subject, having been an opportunist in this as in everything and, at different times in his career, had leaned to different views. Thus, the Qadarites could hold as literally by the Qur'ān as their opponents. But soon the questioning spirit went further—probably, now by the help of outside influence, and the Attributes of God, the Creation and Preservation of the World, the Nature of Revelation, and the doctrine of the Last Things, all came to be discussed with freedom and keenness. To find any parallel we must go back to our fathers' palmy days of dogmatic theology in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, for to us, degenerate sons, the debates of the Muslim divines will probably suggest first, these ironical questions submitted by Lamb to Coleridge: Whether the celestial intelligences could sneer? and Whether the archangel Uriel could knowingly affirm an untruth and whether, if he could, he would? The last was actually debated at great length as applied in God, and one philosopher, in the extent of his philosophy, went so far as to say that God could sin and lie but then He would be a sinful and lying God.

Into these refinements we cannot enter at any length but some

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must be touched, and it should be noticed, first, that with the widening of the questions discussed, though probably also for other reasons, the term Qadarites went out of use and the more general name Mu'tazilites (Secederes) was adopted, and came to be applied, in the end, to all heretics.

First, then, as to the attributes of God. The question was raised whether such and such qualities could be ascribed to Him. Could He be said to will anything, since He must know beforehand what would happen? So the Mu'tazilites argued, and the figure of God was gradually stripped of all qualities till it was left a bare personality, undescribed and undescribable. But this meant either going in the teeth of the Qur'ān or explaining away its utterances. Both were difficult, and the philosophies waxed fast and furious. Again, if we describe God as willing, as knowing, as seeing, and so on, do we not make of the one God many gods, and ourselves polytheists? If these qualities are additions to His Being they are separate gods. So they had to regard the qualities as being His Being and not in His Being, that is, as different sides or aspects of His Being. This view is not unlike some conceptions of the Christian Trinity, as an Arab theologian has noticed.

Then, as to the world, with Aristotle had come to them the idea of the world as law, an eternal construction, subsisting and developing on fixed principles. Hardly anything could be more opposed to Muḥammad's conception of God as the Sovereign of the Universe, on whose will all things hung, who had created the world, ruled it, and would destroy it. Law and Will were face to face. But ingenuity can do much, and these Arab dialecticians anticipated the resource of some Christian Darwinians. In the beginning God had created all things, but they only entered into existence gradually—*i. e.*, they *were*, but without the quality of existence which was added to them when they were to appear. Existence was thus regarded, not as the foundation of all being, but as a mere accident. Further, when they once existed, the quality was given them to develop on certain lines; they were put under the reign of law. The same conception was applied to actions. One action of necessity produces another, and thus all the working world is bound together into unity. But this power in an action of producing another is

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given it by God, and so will is allowed for in the scheme. Finally, we need only notice in this connection that the question came up whether God by His nature was compelled to create the world thus or only did it through His Will.

Further, the question of man's free will, raised in earlier times by the Qadarites, was developed systematically. We have already seen how Muḥammad's own views had wavered. In many passages of the Qur'ān reward or punishment is assigned to actions of men; plainly, men must be responsible, and, therefore, free. But in other passages God is described equally emphatically as sealing up the hearts of men that they may not be able to choose the true path. The Mu'tazilites, as the heirs of the Qadarites, took up the side of freedom. Only if man was free could God's justice permit his punishment, and one of their favorite titles was "The People of Unity and Justice," the unity referring to their rejection of the divine qualities. Into this discussion it is unnecessary to enter; it is all to be found in Jonathan Edward's *Freedom of the Will.*

But perhaps the most important discussion of all centered round the doctrine of Scripture. The Scriptures of God, with His commands and decisions, are conceived of as written upon a tablet that stands ever in His presence, forming, in fact, a kind of concrete Eternal Decree. Of part of the contents of this tablet the Qur'ān is an exact copy. This seems to have been the view of Muḥammad himself, and, further, this Eternal Decree is not only to all eternity, but from all eternity, subsisting in the Being of God. The Qur'ān is, therefore, eternal, and, it follows from that, uncreated. When, then, Muḥammad and his infallible guidance were removed and the Muslim community were left to find their own way in the light of his book and the scattered fragments of his conversation that could be gathered up it was inevitable that their reverence for that book should reach the utmost limit. They, therefore, found no difficulty in its being eternal and uncreated, and it was only when that clashed with the Mu'tazilite view of the world and man that doubt and discussion arose. From Aristotle they had learned much that was not in the Qur'ān and they had learned much that was at plain issue with what was in the Qur'ān. An eternal, uncreated book was

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above reason; yet they had begun to follow reason. But their most plausible and open basis of attack was that this view led to two divine, eternal beings—God and His Book. The history of the discussion can only be sketched in a few lines. In A. H. 212 (A. D. 827) the Khalīfa, al-Ma'mūn, a very indifferent Muslim who favored Greek and scientific studies to the utmost of his power, published a decree that the Qur'ān was to be regarded as created, and that such should be the doctrine taught from all public pulpits. The next Khalīfa followed al-Ma'mūn, as did also his successor, al-Wāthiq[5], in the earlier years of his reign. But at the last he is reported to have had scruples, and in A. H. 237 (A. D. 851) al-Mutawakkil recalled al-Ma'mūn's decree and laid the Mu'tazilite doctrine under penalty. This was the end of the nearest approach that *al-Islām* has made to a rationalist system of theology.

The doctrine of the Last Things did not suffer so much at the hands of the Mu'tazilites. The statements of the Qu'rān were much too explicit and exact to be got rid of, yet the attempt was made to explain spiritually much that was expressed physically. One point, as to whether believers would actually see God in Paradise, they ventured to dispute, as its basis was only tradition from Muḥammad and not the direct word of God. Some of the more advanced spirits dealt more radically, but found small following. The eschatology of *al-Islām* stood firm.

Throughout all this discussion the Mu'tazilite party had met with little dialectic opposition. The orthodox Muslims were compelled to content themselves simply with statements of the true faith. They were not the equals of the Mu'tazilites in logical debate and learned to avoid it. Naturally, under such conditions, their cause went down, and despite the recall of al-Ma'mūn's decree it seemed as though the Mu'tazila would win along the whole line. But they were soon to meet with a grievous check and be overthrown with their own weapons. There was a young man, Abū-l-Ḥasan al-Ash'arī, of the best blood of the desert, who had been driven early in life to join them

[5] He is the Vathek of Beckford's brilliant romance. It is almost certain that some Oriental origin lies behind this book, though it has been very largely modified by Beckford. No Occidental would think of taking the comparatively obscure al-Wāthiq and making him the subject of a romance and, especially, giving him such a character. There the orthodox Muslim, probably a Turk, comes out.

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through doubt of the orthodox position and its helpless traditionalism. Up to his fortieth year he remained with them, but with growing dissatisfaction. Intellectual criticism, when applied to *al-Islām*, tended not to make it more reasonable but simply to destroy it. After the Mu'tazilites had had their way no religion, really, was left. The Belief of Muḥammad had lived with all the life of his intensely personal God; this resultant thing was a few vague ideas. Al-Ash'arī turned from it, as the human race has always turned from similar attempts to make Christianity over again. He found in it the same lack of life and reality that has made Unitarianism the religion of the few. So he sought again the church of his fathers, but brought with him the system of Mu'tazilite dialectic. He went back to the Qur'ān and the traditions of Muḥammad, based his system upon acceptance of them as they stood, and used in their defense the weapon that had so long been used against them. The crass anthropomorphisms of the old faith he carefully avoided, its inconsistencies he harmonized, and seems to have gone upon the principle of taking the most conservative position that was in any way intellectually tenable. His success was rapid and complete. It was evident that the heart of the people was with this new attempt, for the Mu'tazila went down like a house of cards. His return was about A. H. 300 (A. D. 912) and he died some twenty years later with a curse of the heretics upon his lips.

Somewhat after al-Ash'arī, another teacher, an Abū Manṣūr al-Māturīdī, did the same work in distant Samarqand. It is in the track of this last that an-Nasafī went, as we may see from some of the details of his "articles"—but that must be dealt with in the notes.

Yet the movement which the Mu'tazilites had led still survived though with changing methods and objects. The intellectual life could not be so quickly destroyed; its end lay some two centuries ahead. One result of their overthrow by al-Ash'arī was to hasten a development which had already begun in the separation between theology and philosophy. Al-Fārābī, the great Aristotelian at the court of Sayf ad-Dawla in Aleppo, perhaps the greatest of the Arab philosophers, takes little to do with direct theology but bends all his powers to understand his master's writings and to

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reconcile them with, as he thought, Plato, in reality Plotinus. He died about twenty years after al-Ashʿarī. Ibn Sīnā, for us Avicenna, the great physicist, who died scarcely a century later, seems to have been a man of piety and certainly submitted in all things to the dominant theological party. But, like some nowadays, he, with or against his conscience, kept water-tight partitions in his brain and did not permit his reading of the Qur'ān to meddle with his study of Galen.

Between the dates of al-Fārābī and Ibn Sīnā appears to have fallen the life of a learned secret society, the *Ikhwān aṣ-Ṣafā* (*The Faithful* or *True Comrades*). We know very little of it, but it is supposed to have originated, directly or indirectly, under Muʿtazilite influence when that party found it dangerous to publish its views too openly. It is known to us through its great Encyclopædia, a collection of treatises *de omni scibili*, in which it is attempted to present a complete picture of all knowledge of man and the world. Their object seems to have been somewhat the same as that of the French *Encyclopédistes*, with the great difference that the Muslims were no unbelievers and had a strong dash of mysticism.

Yet why secrecy should have been necessary is not absolutely clear, for it was not till A. H. 408 (A. D. 1017) that the Muʿtazilites were forced to conform, and about the year 1000 A. D. there were held in Baghdād meetings of what can only be described as a Parliament of Religions. A pious Muslim traveler from Spain has left us a description of one of these meetings which he attended. He went, afterwards, to a second, but did not peril his soul by a third attempt. It seems to have been a free debate between Muslims of all sects, orthodox and heretical, Parsees and Atheists, Jews and Christians, unbelievers of every kind. Each party had a spokesman, and at the beginning of the proceedings the rule was laid down that no one might appeal to the sacred books of his creed but could only adduce arguments founded upon reason. From our traveler's narrative we recognize the horror with which the orthodox viewed this freedom of speech and thought, yet when such a thing was possible in Baghdād, religious liberty there must still have been tolerably broad.

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But this did not last, could not last, in the nature of things. A speculative theology which is supported neither by popular approval, nor by ecclesiastical sanction, nor by state favor has not long to live. Yet the Mu'tazila ran a course of nearly 500 years and died hard. Az-Zamakhsharī, the great grammarian and Qur'ān commentator, who died A. H. 538 (A. D. 1143) may be called the last of the school, but he gave it a very modified adherence. Some thirty years before him, died al-Ghazzālī, the man who fixed the theology of *al-Islām* as it is to the present day. In this he may be compared to Thomas Aquinas, the systematizer through Aristotle of the theological system of the Church of Rome. For al-Ghazzālī was no mere theologian but like al-Ash'arī drew his strength from his philosophical studies. Like Thomas Aquinas, too, he had a touch of mysticism and his theological structure is distinctly Sūfī[6] in character. So marked is this that in his own time he was regarded by many as a heretic, and his great work, *The Vivifying of the Sciences of the Faith*, was burned in orthodox Spain. But it won its way, for it was precisely that Ṣūfī tinge that was needed to save the Faith of *al-Islām* from scholastic decrepitude and to preserve it as a religion for the people. In the course of the long contest with the Mu'tazilites, it had run the risk of becoming a mere Body of Divinity.

I have now sketched very slightly an outline of the devel-

[6] The Sūfī is the Muḥammadan mystic. The derivation of the word is disputed. It is either from the Arabic Sūf wool or the Greek σοφός. As in all forms of mysticism, the essential idea is the striving to attain unity with God. But God may be conceived under many different degrees of personality, from Theism to absolute Pantheism, and so the Sūfī sects vary. Broadly, they may be divided into two, the Persian and the Arab. The Persian Sūfī calls himself a Muslim but he has really no part in the Faith of Muḥammad. His religious sources and ideas are Aryan, running back to Buddhism. The Arab Sūfī, on the other hand, holds fast the conception of the personality of God and softens the rigid austerity of orthodox dogmatics by the conception of religion being a life in God as well as a belief about him. Marvelous stories are told of these favored Saints who attain near to God—of the wonders that they work and the glories they enjoy. These Saints are called Walīs, *those that are near* to God, and many books have been written upon them and their claims and their gifts. Such questions are discussed as to whether a Walī may know that he is a Walī; what is the difference between a Walī and a Prophet; which is higher; how we are to regard the wonders worked by Walīs, and so on. Naturally, with this comes the idea that such men receive private and direct revelations—have an Inner Light of their own, and that they are raised above the precepts of the ordinary moral law. Against all this, orthodox Islām has had to fight and hold the path of the simple spiritual life in God. It does not deny the Walīs and their wonders, but denies that they reach the rank of the Prophets, that their private revelations can supersede the revelation through Muḥammad, and that they are raised above the need of obeying the ordinary moral law. Persia is Sūfī through and through, and Sūfī influence is strong in the other countries of *al-Islām*.

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opment of Muslim theology. As that development ceases with al-Ghazzālī, so, too, must my sketch. It is needless to point out the many parallels which it offers to the history of Christian thought. For the light which it throws upon that it is certainly worthy of more study than has ever been given to it. The following list of books may serve as a guide to such a study, but it need hardly be said that no really satisfactory work in this direction can be done without a knowledge of Arabic.

I. On the general history of Muḥammad and *al-Islām*, though with much also on the theological development:

Sir William Muir, *Life of Mahomet*, 4 vols. London, 1861.

Sir William Muir, *Annals of the Early Caliphate, from original Sources*. London, 1883.

A. Sprenger, *Des Leben und die Lehre Muhammeds*. Berlin, 1869.

Gustav Weil, *Geschichte der Chalifen*, 3 vols. Mannheim, 1846–51.

August Müller, *Der Islam im Morgen -und Abendland*, 2 vols. Berlin, 1885–7.

II. On the theology of *al-Islām:*

Alfred von Kremer, *Culturgeschichte des Orients unter den Chalifen*, 2 vols. Vienna, 1875–7.

Alfred von Kremer, *Geschichte der herrschenden Ideen des Islāms; Der Gottesbegriff, Die Prophetie und Staatsidee*. Leipzig, 1868.

Heinrich Steiner, *Die Mu'taziliten oder die Freidenker im Islâm*. Leipzig, 1865.

Wilhelm Spitta, *Zur Geschichte Abu-'l-Hasan al-Ash'ari's*. Leipzig, 1876.

Ignaz Goldziher, *Die Schule der Zahiriten*. Leipzig, 1884.

Ignaz Goldziher, *Mohammedanische Studien*. Halle, 1889–90.

Auguste Schmölders, *Essai sur les écoles philosophiques chez les Arabes*. Paris, 1842.

Lucien Gautier, *La perle précieuse des Ghazâlî; Traite d'eschatologie musulmane*. 1878.

E. Sell, *The Faith of Islam*. London, 1881.

George Sale, *The Koran translated*, with introduction and notes: many editions. [The Introduction is still valuable.]

The excellent little bibliography that accompanies the third edition of Socin's *Arabische Grammatik* may also be consulted with advantage.

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ARTICLES OF BELIEF OF NAJM AD-DĪN ABŪ ḤAFṢ AN-NASAFĪ.

In the name of God, the merciful Compassionate One!

The Shaykh, the Imām, Najm ad-Dīn Abū Ḥafṣ 'Umar ibn Muḥammad ibn Aḥmad an-Nasafī (may God have mercy upon him!), said: "The People of Verity, contradicting the Sophists[7], say that the real natures of things are validly established and that the predominant belief concerning them is correct. Further, that the sources of knowledge for mankind are three: the Senses, true Narration, and Reason. As for the Senses, they are five: Hearing, Sight, Smell, Taste, and Touch, and by each sense you are made acquainted with that to which it is assigned. True Narration, again, is of two kinds. The one is Narration handed down along a large number of lines of tradition; that is, it is established by the tongues of a number of people of whom we cannot imagine that they would agree in a lie. It compels a knowledge which is of necessity, such as the knowledge of departed kings in past times and of distant countries. And the second is Narration concerning the Apostle[8] aided by miracle, and it compels knowledge inferentially, and the knowledge established by it resembles the knowledge established by necessity in certainty and fixity. Then, as for Reason, it is a cause of knowledge also, and whatever is established through intuition is axiomatic, as the knowledge that every thing is greater than its part, and whatever is established by inference is derivative knowledge, as the existence of a fire from the appearance of smoke. And the Inner Light[9] with the People of Verity is not one of the causes of knowledge as to the soundness of a thing.

Further, the World in the totality of its parts is a created thing, in that it consists of Substances and Attributes. The substances are what

[7] The word in the original is certainly derived from the Greek σοφιστής but the context makes it clear that the Skeptical school is rather meant. This is borne out by what we find elsewhere. The Sophists, in the Arabic sense, denied that we could have any certain knowledge of the real nature of things, even that we could know whether things had an essentially real nature or not. This section seems to involve indirectly the position that the knowledge of God could be reached by reason without revelation. This was maintained by al-Māturīdī as opposed to al-Ash'arī; see p. 107.

[8] I translate by *Apostle* the Arabic word *Rasūl*. It means literally *messenger*, and was evidently used as a translation of the Syriac *Shĕlīḥā*, itself a translation of ἀπόστολος. By *Prophet* I translate the Arabic *Nabī*, which is derived, directly or indirectly, from the Hebrew *Nābhī*. There have been very many Prophets sent by God with a verbal message, but the number of Apostles is limited. By Apostles books have been revealed, though these have now in great part been lost or corrupted. The only one that is uncorrupted and incorruptible is the Qur'ān, the book revealed through Muḥammad, the last and greatest of these Apostles. His principal predecessors in the Apostleship were Adam, Noah, Abraham, Moses, and Jesus. Muḥammad's revelation is therefore to be regarded as the last and crown of a long line. God has never left himself without a witness, and it has been the duty of each Apostle and Prophet to lead back his people to the primitive faith. This is the position of orthodox Islām and seems to have been that finally reached by Muḥammad. By what course of development Muḥammad reached it is an exceedingly interesting question, but one which cannot be entered upon here.

[9] See note 6, p. 109.

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exist in themselves and are either compound, that is bodies, or not compounded, namely divisions that are not divided, that is essences. And the attributes are what do not exist in themselves but have a dependent existence in bodies or essences, such as colors, tastes, states, odors.

The Creator of the World is God Most High, the One, the Eternal, the Living, the Decreeing, the Knowing, the Hearing, the Seeing, the Willing. He is not an attribute, nor a body, nor an essence, nor a thing formed, nor a thing bounded, nor a thing numbered, nor a thing divided, nor a thing compounded, nor a thing limited, and He is not described by quiddity, nor by modality, and He does not exist in place or time, and there is nothing that resembles Him and nothing that is outwith His knowledge and power.[10] He has qualities from all eternity and to all eternity existing in His essence. They are not He nor are they other than He. They are Knowledge and Power and Life and Strength and Hearing and Seeing and Willing and Doing and Creating and Sustaining and Speech.[11] And He, whose Majesty is majestic, speaks with one Word. This Word is a quality from all eternity, not belonging to the genus of letters and sounds, a quality that is incompatible with coming to silence and that has no bane.[12] God Most High speaks with this Word, commanding and prohibiting and narrating. And the Qur'ān is the uncreated word of God, written in our copies, preserved in our hearts, repeated by our tongues, heard by our ears, and it is not a transient state in this quality. And Creating is a quality of God Most High from all eternity, and it is the Creating of the world and of every one of its parts at the time of its becoming existent, and this quality of Creating is not created according to our opinion. And Willing is a quality of God Most High from all eternity existing in His essence.[13]

And that there is a Vision of God Most High is allowed by reason and certified by tradition. An indication passed from one hearer to another has come down with the affirmation that believers have a Vision of God Most High in Paradise and that He is seen, not in a place nor

[10] In this section it should be noticed how carefully the later orthodox theology steers its way between the anthropomorphic conceptions of early Islām and the denial of all God's qualities by the Mu'tazilites. This mediating attitude will be apparent in all that follows.

[11] That these active qualities of God are eternal was maintained by al-Māturīdī, but denied by al-Ash'arī.

[12] *I. e.*, it has nothing imperfect or hurtful. Using the same word the Arabs say: The bane of Tradition is lying and the bane of Learning is forgetfulness.

[13] Here it should be noticed that the eternity and uncreatedness of the Qur'ān as read and repeated is maintained. But that does not mean that the written form with its paper, ink, etc., is uncreated. Farther, it *is* the Word of God itself, and not simply a state of that word, which comes and passes. As to Creation, some maintain that God created his quality of creating and then created, because otherwise He must have created from all eternity, but the world is not from all eternity, therefore He did not create from all eternity, therefore He had not the quality of creating from all eternity. Al-Ash'arī's proof of the existence of God's Word from all eternity is worth giving. God created with the word *Be*. But if that word was not from all eternity, it must have been created. Therefore another word, *Be*, was required and so we are led back in an infinite regress. I give these things as specimens of the dialectic side of Muslim theology.

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after the manner of facing or the joining of glances or the placing of distances between him who sees and God Most High.[14]

And God Most High is the causer of all actions of His creatures, whether of unbelief or of belief, of obedience or of rebellion; all of them are by the will of God and His sentence and His conclusion and His decreeing.[15] And to His creatures belong free-will actions for which they are rewarded or punished, and the good in these is by the good pleasure of God and the vile in them is not by His good pleasure.[16] And the ability [to do the action] goes along with the action and is the essence of the power in which the action takes place, and this word "ability" means the soundness of the causes and instruments. And the validity of the imposition [of the task] is based upon this ability, and the creature has not imposed upon him a task that is not in his power.[17] And the pain which is found in one who is beaten as a consequence of being beaten by any man and the state of being broken in glass as a consequence of its being broken by any man, and such things, all that is caused by God Most High, and the creature has no part in its cause, and he who is slain, his death is caused by Him and the cause is one [only].[18]

And that which is forbidden is still Sustenance, and each one receives in full his own Sustenance, whether it consist of permitted or of forbidden things, and let no one imagine that a man shall not eat his Sustenance or that another than he shall eat his Sustenance.[19]

[14] This has already been dealt with in the Introduction. It should be noticed that this doctrine is based upon tradition, though attempts have also been made to find support for it in direct words of the Qur'ān. Traditions are sayings of Muḥammad passed down by oral transmission from one hearer to another. In quoting a tradition the complete line of transmitters must be given, they must all be credible witnesses and have been in connection, each with each. Thus, theologian A will say: There related to me B; he said: There related to me C; he said: There related to me D. So it goes back to Z, who says: There said the Prophet of God. Muslims are justly proud of their system of traditions; there is nothing else like it in the world. But it is also beyond doubt that the greater number have been forged to suit purposes and occasions, and it is almost impossible to weed out the false from the true. At a very early date it became a crime in *al-Islām* to transmit a tradition that was to the discredit of the Prophet, and before long the same law extended its protection over his Companions, *i. e.*, his contemporaries who were in direct intercourse with him. The result may be imagined.

[15] This does not mean that there are some actions of free will and some foreordained. God decrees all actions but it is for the creature to "accept" to himself that he will perform the action. When he does so, then God gives him the power to perform the action and the suitable instruments. The old orthodoxy had said that a man could neither perform an action himself nor accept an action for himself. The Mu'tazilites asserted both, but the later orthodox school took up the doctrine of accepting.

[16] Al Ash'arī took the position that "Will" as applied to God meant "Good Pleasure," and thus, that all actions were by God's Good Pleasure. The position here is that of al-Māturīdī.

[17] Again, a point of difference between al-Ash'arī and al-Māturīdī. Al-Ash'arī held that God could require an impossibility from man.

[18] This is a necessary consequence of the doctrine of "Accepting." The action itself, with all its consequences is God's, and man has nothing to do with it.

[19] This is sufficiently mysterious. The word translated sustenance here means all that God gives to man that he may live by it, food, clothing, shelter, etc. But there are certain foods and other things that are forbidden and some that are permitted. Can, then, this

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And God leadeth astray whom He wills and guides aright whom He wills, and it is not incumbent upon God Most High to do that which may be best for the creature.[20]

The punishment of the grave for unbelievers and for some rebellious ones of the believers, and the bliss of the obedient in the grave and the questioning by Munkar and Nakīr are established on the evidence of tradition. And the Quickening of the Dead is a Verity, and the Weighing is a Verity, and the Book is a Verity, and the Question is a Verity, and the Tank is a Verity, and the Bridge *aṣ-Ṣirāṭ* is a Verity, and the Garden is a Verity, and the Fire is a Verity, and they are both created, existing, continuing, they shall not pass away and their people shall not pass away.[21]

A great sin does not exclude the creature who believes from the Belief and does not make him an unbeliever,[22] and God does not forgive him who joins another with Himself, but He forgives anything beneath that to whom He wills, of small sins or of great. And there may be punishment for a small sin and pardon for a great one if it be not of the nature of considering lawful what is forbidden, for that is unbelief. And the intercession of the Apostle and the choosing on behalf of those who commit great sins is established by many and widespread narratives.[23]

word "sustenance" be applied to the forbidden things? The Mu'tazilites said that it could not and pointed to the command in the Qur'ān to give alms of "Sustenance" and to the fact that "Sustenance" is said to be given directly by God. But God could not give forbidden things nor command that they should be given in alms. The orthodox party, on the other hand, maintained that forbidden things must be "Sustenance" for you could be nourished, sustained by them. Otherwise you might eat pig and drink wine to any extent and they would not avail against hunger and thirst. Farther, a tradition of Muḥammad was quoted in which the term was applied directly to forbidden things.

[20] The theologians of *al-Islām* do not hesitate at consequences. If this section is not true, then God must have ordained that all should believe, but He has not, and, therefore, this section is true.

[21] On the night after burial it is believed that the dead man is visited by the two angels named here who question him as to his faith. If his answers are satisfactory he is left to repose in peace and is granted a vision of what will be his place in Paradise after the Last Day. But if his answers are not satisfactory then the grave closes in upon him and crushes him and he lies in torture, seeing, also his appointed place in Hell. Souls and bodies are thus supposed to remain together in the grave. When the body turns to dust, the soul still remains connected with it. For this reason a Muslim burial-place is inviolable. Then at the Last Day they will all be quickened and raised, and their actions will be weighed, their record, which has been kept by the two angels assigned to each, read in the book, the question will be put, believers will drink of the Tank of Muḥammad and pass into Paradise over the razor-edge bridge. There they will remain eternally. There was an heretical opinion that after all had passed into Paradise or Hell, God would destroy both and remain alone as He was before He created the universe.

[22] It was the view of the Khawārij (see p. 99) that a great sin excluded from belief.

[23] See p. 102. The text of the words, *and the choosing*, is uncertain. I have translated the reading of the collated MS. It may refer to the choice which Muḥammad made when God granted him any one request he might make, according to the privilege of all Prophets. He asked leave to intercede for his people at the Last Day. Or it may refer to his choosing some of his people for intercessions. Cureton's MSS. read, *and of the excellent*, but I am doubtful whether in an-Nasafī's time the intercession of others besides Muḥammad was believed in. In later times this doctrine was broadened until value was attached to the intercession of any theologian.

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And those believers who commit great sins do not remain eternally in the Fire although they die without repentance.

Belief is assent to that which comes from God and abiding in it. Then as for Works, they are acts of obedience and gradually increase in themselves, but Belief does not increase and does not diminish. And Belief and *al-Islām* are one.[24] And whenever Assent and abiding in Assent are firmly established on the part of a creature, then it is allowable for him to say, I am a Believer in verity. But it is not seemly that he should say, I am a believer if God will.[25]

The happy one sometimes becomes miserable and the miserable one sometimes becomes happy and the changing is in happiness and misery and not in making happy and making miserable, for these are both qualities of God Most High and there is no changing in Him or in His qualities.

And in the sending of the Apostles is a restraint and God has sent Apostles of flesh unto flesh, with good tidings, warning and explaining to men the things of the world and of faith of which they have need. And He has aided them with miracles which contradict that which is usual. The first of the Prophets was Adam and the last is Muḥammad (Upon both of them be Peace!). And a statement of their number has been handed down in several traditions but the more fitting course is that there should be no limiting to a number in naming them and God Most High has said, Of them are those whom We have recited to thee and of them are those whom We have not recited to thee. And security is not given in the statement of number against there being entered among them some that are not of them or of there being excluded from them some that are of them. They all give intelligence concerning God Most High, are veracious and sincere, and the most excellent of the Prophets is Muḥammad (Upon him be Peace!).[26]

The Angels are servants of God and work according to His commands. They are not described as masculine or feminine.

And God has books which He has revealed to his Prophets and in them are His commands and His prohibitions and His promises.

The Night Journey of the Apostle of God (Upon whom be Blessing and Peace!), while awake, in the body, to Heaven, then to what place God Most High willed of the Exalted Regions, is a Verity.[27]

[24] This is the view of al-Māturīdī. Al-Ash'arī held that *al-Islām*, *resignation to God*, was a broader term.

[25] Al-Ash'arī held the opposite.

[26] See note 8. It is singular that while in the Qur'ān Muḥammad repeatedly disclaims the power of working miracles and points out their uselessness as evidence because former prophets had worked them and had not been believed, yet in traditions that are true, if any oral tradition can be true, he is represented as claiming the power and using it. This raises a curious question of evidence.

[27] This journey of Muḥammad on Burāq to Jerusalem and then to heaven under the guidance of Gabriel is barely alluded to in the Qur'ān, but there are the fullest and most fantastic traditions about it. These seem to go back to Muḥammad on too many different lines of derivation to be false. If we can believe them, Muḥammad himself was the source of the stories. It is curious that the deeper the study of Muḥammad goes, it is the less to his advantage.

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The Wonders of the Saints are a Verity. And a Wonder on the part of a Saint appears by way of a contradiction of the ordinary course of nature, such as passing over a great distance in a short time and the appearing of meat and drink and clothing at time of need, and walking upon the water and in the air, and the speech of stones and of beasts, and the warding off of an evil that is approaching, and the guarding him who is anxious from enemies and other things of the same kind. And such a thing is to be reckoned as an evidentiary miracle on behalf of the Apostle on the part of one of whose followers the wonder appears. For it is evident by it that he is a Saint and he could never be a Saint unless he were right in his religion and worship and in abiding by the message committed to his Apostle.[28]

The most excellent of mankind after the Prophets are Abū Bakr, the Very Veracious, then 'Umar, the Divider, then 'Uthmān he of the Two Lights, then 'Alī, he with whom God is well pleased (The good will of God be upon them!), and their Khalifates were in this order and the Khalifate extended to thirty years; then, thereafter, came kings and princes.[29]

The Muslims cannot do without a leader who shall occupy himself with the enforcing of their decisions, and in maintaining their boundaries, and guarding their frontiers, and equipping their armies, and receiving their alms, and putting down robberies and thieving and highwaymen, and maintaining the Friday services and the Festivals, and removing quarrels that fall between creatures, and receiving depositions and maintenance of rights, and marrying minors, male and female, and those who have no guardians, and dividing booty. And it is necessary that the leader should be visible, not hidden and expected to appear, and that he should be of the tribe of Quraysh and not of any other. And he is not assigned exclusively to the Sons of Hāshim nor to the children of 'Alī. And it is not a condition that he should be protected by God from sin nor that he should be the most excellent of the people of his time but it is a condition that he should be of those who have administrative ability, should be a good governor and be able to carry out decrees and to guard the boundaries of the territories of *al-Islām* and to protect the wronged against him who wrongs him. And he is not to be deposed from the leadership on account of immorality or tyranny.[30]

Prayer is allowable behind any one, whether pure or a sinner. And we give the salutation of Peace to the pure and to the sinner.[31] And we

[28] See note 6.

[29] See pp. 98 and 99.

[30] The conditions of the Imāmate have already been spoken of. He must be visible and not hidden and expected to appear as the Shī'ites look for the coming of the twelfth Imām. He must be of the tribe of the Prophet because there is a tradition of the Prophet to that effect. But he need not be of the line of Hāshim the great-grandfather of Muḥammad—this is directed against the claim of the 'Abbassides—nor of the children of 'Alī.

[31] This means that we are not to let the actions of any one influence us in considering his claim to be believed. Any one who takes part in prayer is to be taken for what he claims to be and any one who gives the salutation of a believer, must be saluted in return as a believer. The Khawārij refused to do this.

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abstain from the mention of the Companions of the Prophet except with good.[32] And we bear witness that Paradise is for the ten to whom the Prophet (God bless him and give him Peace!), gave good tidings of Paradise.[33] And we approve passing the hand over the inner-shoes both at home and when on a journey.[34] And we do not regard *Nabīdh* as forbidden.[35] And the Saint does not reach the level of the Prophets. And the creature does not come to a point where commands and prohibitions and the details of the statutes in their outward sense fall away from him and the turning aside from them to the views which the People of the Inner Meaning assert, is Heresy and Unbelief.[36] And rejection of the statutes, and contempt for the law is Unbelief; and considering disobedience lawful is Unbelief; and despairing of help from God is Unbelief; and feeling secure against God is Unbelief; and believing a diviner in what he tells of the unseen is Unbelief. And what does not exist is known of God Most High just as what exists is known of Him . . . .[37] And through prayer for the dead and giving of alms for them they are profited since God Most High answers prayer and accomplishes needs. And what the Prophet has reported of the conditions of the Last Day, of the appearance of *ad-Dajjāl* and of the Beast of the Earth and *Yājūj* and *Mājūj* and the descent of *'Īsā* from heaven and the rising of the sun in the west, that is Verity.[38] And the lesser theologians who developed details sometimes erred and sometimes hit the mark. And the Apostles of mankind are more excellent than the Apostles of the angels and the Apostles of the angels are more excellent than the generality of mankind and the generality of mankind of the true believers is more excellent than the generality of the angels.

It is completed by the favouring
and aid of God.

[32] See note 14.

[33] These were ten of the earliest companions and adherents of Muḥammad to whom, it is recorded, he made a special promise of Paradise. Among them are some who after the murder of 'Uthmān rebelled against the Khalīfa of the time and thus were regarded by some Muslims as unbelievers. The tradition assigning Paradise to them is suspiciously like a later eirenicon by which it was attempted to put out of sight all those unfortunate troubles and remember the ten only as early believers.

[34] The inner shoes are close fitting and made of soft leather. They answer much the purpose of socks with us. What is here permitted is that, instead of taking them off and washing the feet before prayer, under certain circumstances the hand may simply be passed over them. The matter was one much discussed by the followers of the four Imāms (see p. 94), but the general opinion is that expressed here.

[35] *Nabīdh* is water in which raisins have been macerated and steeped. If left to stand it ferments slightly and the question was whether it was to be regarded as wine, and therefore, forbidden. Most permitted it if it had not stood too long.

[36] See Note 6.

[37] There are four words here of which I can make nothing. Literally they read: *and* (or *although*) *it is not a thing or a man.*

[38] *Ad-Dajjāl, the* (emphatic) *Liar*, is the Muslim Antichrist; the Beast of the Earth is borrowed from the Apocalypse directly or indirectly; Yājūj and Mājūj are Gog and Magog; 'Īsā is, of course, Jesus.

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THE SYRIAC TEXT OF THE CHINESE NESTORIAN TABLET.

By Professor Isaac H. Hall,
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Nine years ago I published in the *Proceedings of the American Oriental Society* (October, 1886, pp. cxxiv–cxxvi) a note of corrections of the Syriac text of the Chinese Nestorian Tablet of Singan Fu, as published by Assemani in Tom. III., Pars ii. of his *Bibliotheca Orientalis*. My corrections were chiefly based on an impression of the tablet then recently sent to the American Bible Society, and containing the entire inscription. I had not then observed that Assemani had made a second comparison of his printed text with an impression in the Vatican Library at Rome, and had already made a number of the corrections indicated by me, with others not quite right. (See, in unpaged portion of the prefatory matter of above volume, under VII. of "Codices Syriaci," etc.)

I have collected much material respecting this tablet, but never yet found the time to compile a complete and careful account; and I fear that the work, all the more necessary because of the numerous sketchy and fragmentary accounts often published in the religious journals, must be done by some other hand.

Meanwhile it is quite practicable to print an accurate Syriac text; and this is the object of this paper. I have seen enough of the various impressions to know that none are perfect; and among them I have seen some which would fully justify Assemani's wrong readings. But from a number taken together the right reading can easily and certainly be obtained. On the principal part of the Syriac inscription, that on the lower part of the face of the stone, there is scarcely a single doubtful point. It is on the edges, of which impressions in America are few, that the troublesome parts appear; and it is on one of the edges that the later Chinese inscription interferes somewhat with both the Syriac and the Chinese ancient writing.

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Besides the sources formerly at my command, I have had the use of a complete impression of the stone (except the dragon figures at the top), owned by Hon. Chester Holcomb, former secretary of the U. S. legation and acting minister to China; of a very fine impression sent me by Dr. E. M. Hart, of Soochow, China, which is complete except that part on the edge which contains the eleven names of the *Classis I.* of Assemani; and also, through the kindness of its author, of "La Stèle Chrétienne de Si-ngan-fou, 1ère Partie, Fac-Simile de l'inscription syro-chinoise, par Le P[ère] Henri Havret, S. J." (being No. 7 of *Variétés Sinologiques*, a most useful and interesting series of works by the Jesuit fathers, published at Shanghai). This last is a photo-lithographic fac-simile of a moderately dense impression; not so pale as the one of Mr. Holcomb, nor so black as the one sent me by Dr. Hart. It is divided up into octavo pages; and while not so convenient for consecutive reading, is admirably adapted for minute comparison with others. Its author appears to have had numbers of impressions at his disposal, besides the impressions and photographs regularly sold at the Presbyterian Mission House at Shanghai. (These photographs, at least some of them, were taken while an impression paper was on the stone, and show the characters clearer.)

In presenting the text, it seems best to give first the main inscription at the foot of the face of the stone, along with the lines on each side, a little above. Whether these two lines are to be read with the matter at the foot, or by themselves separately, makes little difference so far as respects sense. We will begin with the line on the left side, or Assemani's *Classis I.* of this portion:

ܒܝܘܡܝ ܐܒܐ ܕܐܒܗܬܐ ܡܪܝ ܫܠܝܚܘܬܐ ܩܕܝܫܐ ܦܛܪܝܪܟܝܣ ..

Then the inscription at the foot, line for line; Assemani's *Classis III.* of this portion:

(1.) ܒܫܢܬ ܠܦ ܘܬܫܥܝܢ ܘܬܪܬܝܢ
ܕܡܠܟܐ ܡܪܝ ܡܪܕܘܢܝܐ ܩܫܝܫܐ
ܘܟܘܪܣܝܣܩܘܦܐ ܕܟܘܡܕܢܝ
ܡܕܝܢܬܐ ܕܡܠܟܘܬܐ ܒܪ ܢܝܚ

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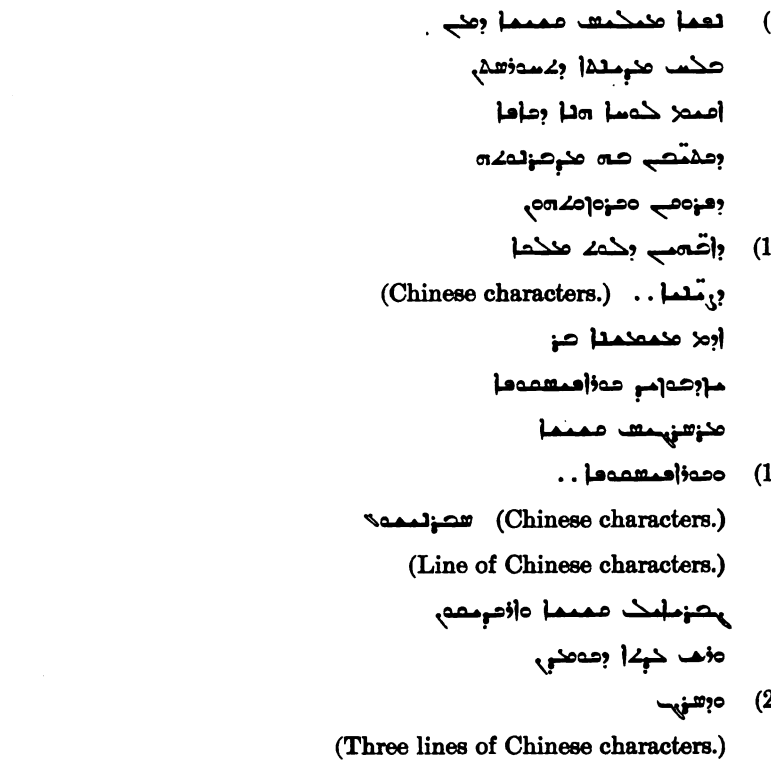
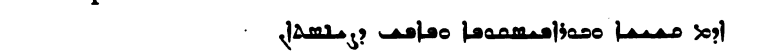


And on the right-hand side of the face; Assemani's *Classis II.* of this portion:



In only one word above do I differ from a seemingly obvious reading. The proper name in line 16, where *Sabariesu'* would be expected, and is read by Assemani, seems to me to read, in all the impressions, *Sabraniesu'* (*i. e.*, Our Hope Jesus); and the stroke making the *nun* seems certainly to me a real part of the writing, and not a scratch. Otherwise, too, there would be a gap in the writing, or an unaccountable empty space. Old Athanasius Kircher left out the *beth* but inserted the *nun*. The result was, as Assemani says, "nullo sensu"; but it shows that the letter *nun* was there more than two and a half centuries ago. The name *Iesusabran*, the same with the component words in reverse order,

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occurs elsewhere, *e. g.*, in the recently discovered History of Mar Yabalaha and Rabban Ṣauma.

The inscription on the left-hand edge is written in columns across the edge, beginning with the upper one. The first column has eleven lines, and forms Assemani's *Classis I.* We give it line for line:

(Chinese characters.) ܡܪܝ ܝܘܚܢܢ ܐܦܝܣܩܘܦܐ (1.)
(Chinese characters.) ܐܝܣܚܩ ܩܫܝܫܐ
(Chinese characters.) ܝܘܐܝܠ ܩܫܝܫܐ
(Chinese characters.) ܡܝܟܐܝܠ ܩܫܝܫܐ
(Chinese characters.) ܓܝܘܪܓܝܣ ܩܫܝܫܐ (5.)
(Chinese characters.) ܡܬܝܕܕ ܓܘܫܢܣܦ ܩܫܝܫܐ
(Chinese characters.) ܡܫܝܚܐܕܕ ܩܫܝܫܐ
(Chinese characters.) ܐܦܪܝܡ ܩܫܝܫܐ
ܐܒܝ ܩܫܝܫܐ
ܕܘܝܕ ܩܫܝܫܐ (10.)
(Chinese characters.) ܡܘܫܐ ܩܫܝܫܐ

Next, the second column on the left edge; Assemani's *Classis II.*, line for line:

(Chinese characters.) ܒܟܘܣ ܩܫܝܫܐ ܡܫܝܚܐ (1.)
(Chinese characters.) ܠܠܝܐ ܩܫܝܫܐ ܡܫܝܚܐ
ܡܘܫܐ ܩܫܝܫܐ ܘܡܫܝܚܐ
ܒܟܝܫܘܥ ܩܫܝܫܐ ܘܡܫܝܚܐ
ܫܡܥܘܢ ܩܫܝܫܐ ܕܩܒܪܐ (5.)
(Chinese characters.) ܝܘܚܢܢ ܡܫܡܫܢܐ ܘܝܕܐ

Next, the third column on the left edge; Assemani's *Classis III.*, line for line. Several of the lines are more or less seriously interfered with by the late Chinese inscription. The second line retains at present only a ܦ legible; but both Assemani and Kircher give it as I here give it, and it is doubtless correct:

(Chinese characters.) ܐܗܪܘܢ (1.)
(Chinese characters.) ܦܛܪܘܣ

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(Chinese characters.)	ܐܝܘܒ	
(Chinese characters.)	ܠܘܩܐ	
(Chinese characters.)	ܡܬܝ	(5.)
(Chinese characters.)	ܝܘܚܢܢ	
(Chinese characters.)	ܝܥܩܘܒܗ	
(Chinese characters.)	ܝܘܚܢܢ	
(Chinese characters.)	ܣܒܪܝܫܘܥ	
(Chinese characters.)	ܝܥܩܘܒ	(10.)
(Chinese characters.)	ܠܘܩܐ	
(Chinese characters.)	ܩܘܣܛܢܛܝܢܘܣ	
(Chinese characters.)	ܢܘܚ	

In this column, lines 1, 2, 3, 6, 7, 8, 9, 12 are the ones interfered with by the late Chinese inscription. Line 6, however, is the only one besides the second line that has to be left in any doubt; and that doubt is merely whether the name is given after the Oriental form, ܝܘܚܢܢ, or after the Greek form ܝܘܚܢܢܝܣ. The three last letters are utterly obliterated by a vertical stroke of a late Chinese character, which, however, seems to me scarcely wide enough to have removed the long low stroke of the final *nun* of the Oriental form, and I have therefore adopted the Greek form. Both forms occur elsewhere on the stone. Assemani, however, gives the Oriental form; and the late inscription was not cut for more than a century after his time, and probably more than two centuries later than the impressions he used. Assemani's transcription is not generally so accurate as to lead me to trust him in a dubious point; and as it is, the conclusion adopted seems best sustained. In no other case can there be a reasonable doubt about the reading.

Next, the fourth column on the left edge; Assemani's *Classis IV.*, line for line. Here the late Chinese inscription has seriously interfered with lines 1 and 7, but only line 1 is doubtful. Here the late inscription has damaged all but the first four letters, and left only two certain, but the remnants of the others confirm Assemani's reading of them. Kircher's is all wrong; and Asse-

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mani's is wrong as to the first part of the word. In the reading I give, which follows Assemani in the doubtful part, I consider it doubtful only whether the second *olaph* should not be some other letter:

(Chinese characters.)	ܐܝܙܕܥܐܣ	(1.)
(Chinese characters.)	ܡܘܫܝܚ	
(Chinese characters.)	ܐܢܘܫ	
(Chinese characters.)	ܡܪܣܪܝܣ	
(Chinese characters.)	ܐܝܣܚܩ	(5.)
(Chinese characters.)	ܡܘܫܝܚ	
(Chinese characters.)	ܡܪܣܪܝܣ	
(Chinese characters.)	ܥܘܣܝ	
(Chinese characters.)	ܫܡܥܘܢ	
(Chinese characters.)	ܐܝܣܚܩ	(10.)
(Chinese characters.)	ܡܘܫܝܚ	

On the right-hand edge are three columns, the reading everywhere plain, and scarcely marred.

The first column; *Classis V.* of Assemani, line for line:

	(Chinese characters.)	ܡܥܩܘܒ ܩܫܝܫܐ	(1.)
(Chinese characters.)	ܡܪܣܪܝܣ ܩܫܝܫܐ ܘܟܘܪܐܦܝܣܩܘܦܐ ܫܝܐܢܓܬܘܣܐ		
(Chinese characters.)	ܓܝܓܘܝ ܩܫܝܫܐ ܘܐܪܟܕܝܩܘܢ ܕܟܘܡܕܐܢ ܘܡܩܪܝܢܐ		
	(Chinese characters.)	ܥܘܠܘܣ ܩܫܝܫܐ	
	(Chinese characters.)	ܫܡܥܘܢ ܩܫܝܫܐ	(5.)
	(Chinese characters.)	ܐܕܡ ܩܫܝܫܐ	
	(Chinese characters.)	ܠܝܐ ܩܫܝܫܐ	
	(Chinese characters.)	ܐܝܣܚܩ ܩܫܝܫܐ	
	(Chinese characters.)	ܡܘܫܝܚ ܩܫܝܫܐ	
	(Chinese characters.)	ܡܘܫܝܚ ܩܫܝܫܐ	(10.)
		ܫܡܥܘܢ ܩܫܝܫܐ ܘܣܒܐ	

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Next, the second column on right-hand edge; Assemani's *Classis VI.*, line for line:

(Chinese characters.)	ܝܥܩܘܒ ܩܢܟܐ	(1.)
(Chinese characters.)	ܥܒܕܝܫܘܥ	
(Chinese characters.)	ܝܫܘܥܕܕ	
(Chinese characters.)	ܝܥܩܘܒ	
(Chinese characters.)	ܝܘܚܢܢ	(5.)
(Chinese characters.)	ܫܘܒܚܐ ܠܡܪܝ	
(Chinese characters.)	ܡܪܣܪܝܣ	
(Chinese characters.)	ܫܡܥܘܢ	
(Chinese characters.)	ܐܦܪܝܡ	
(Chinese characters.)	ܙܟܪܝܐ	(10.)
(Chinese characters.)	ܩܘܪܝܩܘܣ	
(Chinese characters.)	ܒܟܘܣ	
(Chinese characters.)	ܥܡܢܘܐܝܠ	

And the third column on the right-hand edge; Assemani's *Classis VII.*, line for line:

(Chinese characters.)	ܓܒܪܝܐܝܠ	(1.)
(Chinese characters.)	ܝܘܚܢܢ	
(Chinese characters.)	ܫܠܝܡܘܢ	
	ܐܝܣܚܩ	
(Chinese characters.)	ܝܘܚܢܢ	

It may be a matter of convenience to some readers to have a translation appended. I here give it, following the same order in which the text is given above:

Line on left side of face:

In the days of the Father of Fathers (*i. e.*, Patriarch) Mar Ḥannanieshuʿ (*Nestorian*, Ḥannanishoʿ), Catholicus, Patriarch.

Lines on the face at the foot:

In the year one thousand and ninety and two of the Greeks [*i. e.*, A. D. 781] Mar Iezdebuzid, priest and chorepiscopus of the

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royal city Cumdan, son of the late [*lit.*, rest his soul] Milis, priest of Balch a city of Techoristan, erected this table of stone, on which are inscribed the dispensation of our Saviour and the preaching of our fathers to the king of the Chinese. Adam, deacon, son of Iezdebuzid, chorepiscopus; Mar Sergius, priest and chorepiscopus; Sabranieshu'; Gabriel, priest and archdeacon, and head of the church of Cumdan and of Sarga.

Line on the right side of face:

Adam, priest and chorepiscopus and *pappas* of Sinistan.

First column, left-hand edge (lines of the stone here separated by semi-colons):

Mar John, bishop; Isaac, priest; Joel, priest; Michael, priest; George, priest; Mahadad Gushnasp, priest; Meshichadad [*i. e.*, Beloved of Messiah], priest; Ephraim, priest; Abi, priest; David, priest; Moses, priest.

Second column on left-hand edge:

Bacus (or Bacchus), priest, monk; Elias, priest, monk; Moses, priest and monk; 'Ebedieshu' (*Nestorian*, 'Odisho'), priest and monk; Simeon, priest of Cabra; John, deacon and monk [the last word abbreviated].

Third column, left-hand edge:

Aaron; Peter; Job; Luke; Matthew; John; Ieshu'ammeh; John; Sabarieshu'; Ieshu'dad; Luke; Constantine; Noah.

Fourth column, left-hand edge:

Izdespas; John; Enosh; Mar Sergius; Isaac; John; Mar Sergius; Pusi; Simeon; Isaac; John.

Right-hand edge, first column:

Jacob (or James), priest; Mar Sergius, priest and chorepiscopus; Gigoi, priest and archdeacon of Cumdan and Macrina; Paul, priest; Simeon, priest; Adam, priest; Elias, priest; Isaac, priest; John, priest; John, priest; Simeon, priest and elder.

Right-hand edge, second column:

Jacob (or James), church custodian (*aedituus*); 'Ebedieshu'; Ieshu'dad; Jacob (or James); John; Shu(b)chalemaran [*i. e.*, Praise-the-Lord]; Mar Sergius; Simeon; Ephraim; Zacharias; Cyriacus; Bacus (or Bacchus); Immanuel.

Right-hand edge, third column:

Gabriel; John; Solomon; Isaac; John.

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THE AMERICAN JOURNAL
OF
SEMITIC LANGUAGES AND LITERATURES
(CONTINUING "HEBRAICA")

VOL. XII. APRIL—JULY, 1896. NOS. 3 AND 4

THE INSCRIPTION OF RAMMÂN-NIRARI I.

BY MORRIS JASTROW, JR., PH.D.,
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I.

INTRODUCTION.

In view of the interest aroused by the duplicate copy of the inscription of the King of Assyria, generally known as Rammân-nirari I.,* (about 1290 B. C.) it seems desirable to place at the disposal of scholars, a complete publication of the monument in question. Scheil, who was among the first to call attention to the duplicate, while it was still in Constantinople, contented himself with a transliteration and an indication by means of bold type of the variants to the copy found by George

*(1) Jules Oppert "Adad-Nirar, Roi d'Ellasar," *Comptes Rendus de l'Academie des Inscriptions et Belles Lettres*, June, 1893. (2) Pognon. *L'Inscription de Ramman-Nerar Ier Roi d'Assyrie*, (Réponse à un article de M. Oppert) 1894; (3) Scheil, "Inscription de Ramman-Nirari, Ier," in *Receuil de Travaux relatifs à la philol. et à l'archéol. egypt. et assyriennes*, Vol. XV., 1893, pp. 138-140. (4) M. Jastrow, Jr., "The two copies of Ramman-nirari's Inscription," *Zeits. f. Assyr.* X., pp. 35-48; (5) Lyon read a paper "On the recently discovered tablet of Ramman-nirari" before the American Oriental Society in March 1894, which however, has not yet been published. See also (6) Hilprecht's *Assyriaca*, pp. 76-77, who discusses Oppert's reading of the name of the King, (7) Oppert, *Zeits. f. Assyr.* IX., pp. 310-314; (8) Thureau-Dangin, "La Lecture de l'Ideogramme AN-IM," *Journal Asiatique*, Sept.-Oct., 1895, pp. 385-393, who pleads for a reading Immeru, and (9) Oppert's reply (*ibid.* pp. 393-396); (10) Meissner *Beiträge zum Altbabyl. Privatrecht.* p. 114, note 2.

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Smith at Kaleh-Shergat,* and now in the British Museum.† Oppert furnished a translation together with some notes, including a discussion of the first element in the name of the king, which he reads Adad. In an article published in the *Zeitschrift für Assyriologie* (see note, p. 143), I gave a complete list of the variants, and examined their character, but the inscription itself has not yet been published. The original is (I believe) now in New York in the hands of M. Dikran Kelekian, who brought it from Constantinople and submitted it to Oppert in the spring of 1893, prior to taking it to Chicago, where it was on exhibition at the World's Columbian Exposition, during the summer of the same year. An excellent cast of the inscription was obtained by Mrs. Cornelius Stevenson for the Museum of the University of Pennsylvania.‡ It is from this cast, which for all purposes is as good as the original, that the photographs accompanying this article were made by Mr. F. Meynen, of Philadelphia, to whom thanks are due for his careful and excellent work. The characters in archaic Assyrian style, like the British Museum copy, are clear, bold, and beautiful. In my copy I have endeavored to reproduce every line and stroke of the original, and where I may have failed, the photographs‖ will furnish the needed control for students of palæography. The material of the tablet is a dark stone. Its measurements are 30.1 *cm.* (length), 22.2 (breadth), and 4.2 (thickness). It contains 65 lines as against 78 of the British Museum duplicate. The owner was unable to furnish any information as to the place where the stone was found, but in view of George Smith's statement that he saw "many fragments of inscriptions" belonging to Rammân-nirari I., there is every reason to believe that our duplicate also came from Kaleh-Shergat—the site of the ancient city Ašur—in the days of Rammân-Nirari, the capital of Assyria. The inscription is dated five days later than the London copy, and in

* *Assyrian Discoveries*, p. 242.

† First translated by George Smith, *Assyr. Disc.*, pp. 243–246; published in IV Rawlinson, 1st *ed.*, pl. 44 and 45; 2nd *ed.*, pl. 39. Recent translations, (*a*) Pognon, *Inscription de Merou-Nerar I., Roi d'Assyrie* (Paris, 1884), with commentary and glossary, (*b*) Peiser in Schrader's *Keilschriftl. Bibliothek*, I., pp. 4–9.

‡ I am indebted to the authorities of the University of Pennsylvania Museum and to the Curator of the Babylonian Antiquities—Prof. Hilprecht—for the kind loan of the cast and for the permission to have it photographed.

‖ A few strokes on the "reverse" at the end of lines 38, 41, 42, 45, 49, 51, 57, 58, 61 do not appear on the photograph.

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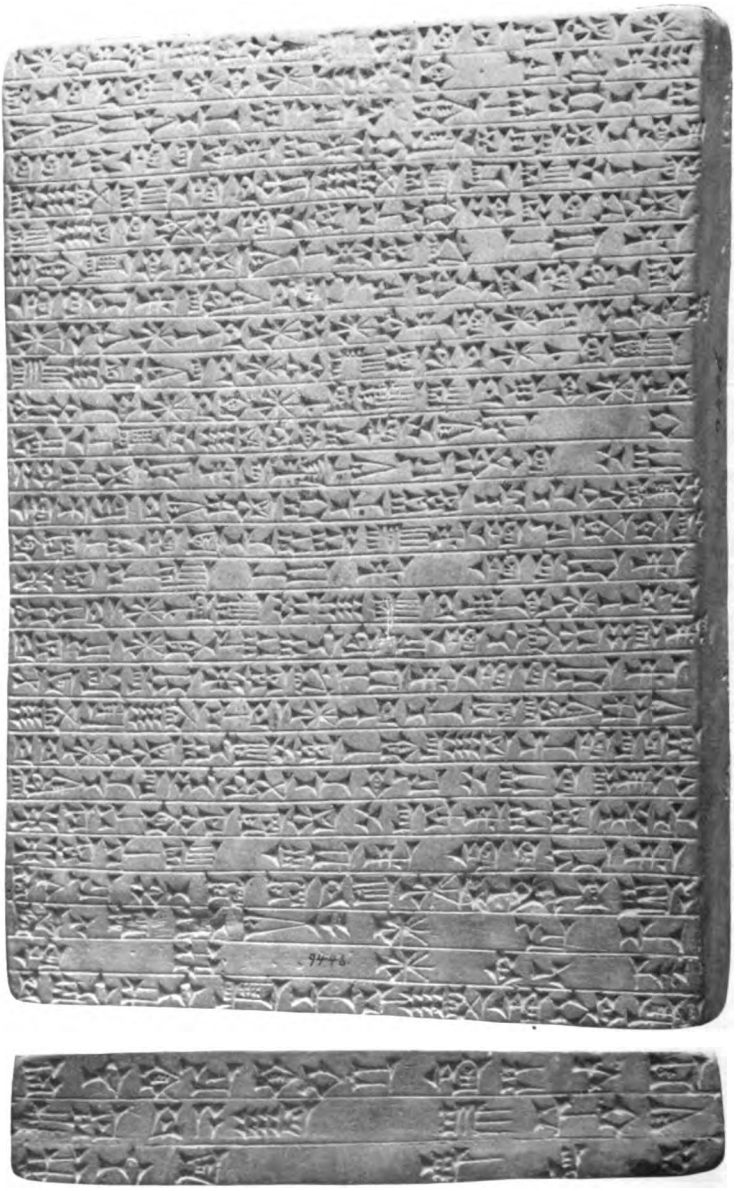

PLATE I.

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PLATE II.

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my article above referred to, I have shown that our copy must have been produced by *dictation* to a scribe, from the London copy, or from a third copy which served as a basis for both. In view of the custom of the Assyrian monarchs, to deposit historical records in the four corners of the official residences erected by them, I was at first inclined to conclude that besides our two texts, two more copies must have been prepared, but the tablet is not a foundation record. It is a commemorative inscription, its chief purpose being to recall the restoration on the part of Rammân-nirari of a portion of the old temple to Ašur, which stood in the city of Ašur, the capital of Assyria. The inscription was to be set up in some spot where it could be seen, and whatever number of copies may have been prepared, whether two or more, all must have served the same end—to bear witness to the king's devotion to the great god Ašur. They must, therefore, have been attached to various parts of the exterior of the structure referred to.

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II. TRANSLITERATION.

OBVERSE.

1. ^{il} Rammân-nirari ru-bu-u[1] el-lu si-ma-at[2] ili
e-tel-lu[3] ša-ka-an-ki ilâni mu-kin[4] ma-ḫa-zi
ni-ir dap-nu-ti um-ma-an Kaš-ši-i Ḳu-ti-i
Lu-lu-me-i ù Šu-ba-ri-i mu-ḫi-ip kul-la-at na-ki-ri
5. e-li-iš[5] u ša-ap-li-iš[6] da-iš matâti[7]-šu-nu
iš-tu Lu[8]-up-di ù mât Ra-pi-ḳu a-di E-lu-ḫa-at
ṣa-bi-it ki-ša-at[9] ni-ši mu-ra-piš me-iṣ-ri
ù ku-du-ri šarru ša napḫar ma-al-ki[10] ù ru-be-e[11]
^{il}A-nu ^{il}Ašur ^{il}Šamaš ^{il}Rammân ù ^{il}Ištar a-na ši[12]-pi-šu
10. u-še-ik-ni-šu[13] ša-an-gu-u ṣi-ru ša Bêl
abal Pu-di-ilu ša-kin[14] ^{il}Bêl iš-ša-ak-ki ^{il}A-šur[14a]
ka-ši-id mât Tu-ru-ki-i ù mât Ni-gim-ti
a-di pa-at gim-ri-šu gi-me-ir ma-al-ku šad-i
ù ḫu-ur[15]-ša-ni pa-at Ḳu-ti-i ra-pal-ti gu-un-nu[16]
15. Aḫ-la-me-i ù Su-ti-i Ia-u-ri ù ma-ta-te-šu-nu
mu-ra-pi-iš[17] me-iṣ-ri ù ku-du-ri
bin-bin ša ^{il}Bêl-nirari iš-ša-ak-ki[18] ^{il}Ašur ma
ša um-ma-an Kaš-ši-i i-na-ru-ma ù na-ga-ab za-e-ri-šu
ḳa-su ik-šu-du mu-ra-piš me-iṣ-ri ù ku-du-ri
20. li-ip-li-pi ša ^{il}Ašur-uballiṭ šarri dan-ni
ša ša-an-gu-su i-na ê-kur-ra-tim šu-tu-rat ù šu-lu-um[19]
šarru-ti-šu a-na ru-ḳa-ti ki-ma šad-i ku-un-nu[20]
mu-si-pi-iḫ el-la-at mât Šu-ba-ri-i ra-pal-ti
mu-ra-pi-iš[21] mi[21a]-iṣ-ri ù ku-du-ri
25. e-nu-ma ṣir-la-la ša bit ^{il}A-šur[21b] bel-ia
ša tar-ṣi bab[21c] ni-iš il ma-ti
u bab[21c] il daiâni
ša i-na pa-na it-ti pi-li u ṭi-ṭi[22] ip-šu

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e-na-aḫ-ma iḫ-ḫi-is ù i-nu-uš
30. aš-ra ša-a-tu u-pi-hi-ir
dan-na-su ak-šu-ud

Variants of the London Text.—1. rubû (ideogram). 2. mat. 3. e-ti-el-lu. 4. ki-in. 5. e-liš. 6. šap-liš. 7. KUR-KUR. 8. apparently *ku*. 9. šat. 10. mal. 11. rubê (ideogram). 12. ŠE; our text ŠI. 13. apparently u-še-ik-ni. 14. ša-ak-ni. 14[a]. Ašur (Aš-šur). 15. ḫur. 16. gu-nu. 17. piš. 18. Ideogram. 19. lum. 20. ku-nu. 21. piš. 21[a]. me. 21[b]. Ašur. 21[c]. ba-ab. 22. *it-ti pili u ṭi-ṭi* omitted.

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III. TRANSLATION.

OBVERSE.

Rammân-nirari, illustrious prince, by divine grace,
the supreme guardian of the gods, who holds cities in firm grasp,
the subduer of the mighty armies of the Cassites, the Ḳutites,
Lulumites and Šubarites, the destroyer of all enemies
everywhere trampling down their lands
from the city of Lubdu and the land of Rapiḳu up to [the city of?] Eluḫat
the controller of hosts of men, who enlarges boundary
and territory, at whose feet the
gods Anu, Ašur, Šamaš, Rammân and Ištar force into submission
all kings and princes, the distinguished priest of Bêl,
the son of Pudîl, guardian of Bêl, priest of Ašur,
conqueror of the land of the Turukites and the land of Nigimti
to its extreme limit, all of its kings, the mountain and
forests, the boundary of the extensive land of the Ḳutites, the district (?) of the
Aḫlamites and Sutites and Iaurites and their lands
who thus enlarged boundary and territory,
the grandson of Bêl-nirari, priest of Ašur and
who subdued the armies of the Cassites and whose hand
conquered all his opponents, who thus enlarged boundary and territory;
the great-grandson of Ašur-uballiṭ, the mighty king
whose priesthood in the temples was glorious and whose royal
control was established unto distant lands, firmly as the mountains,
who destroyed the forces of the extensive land of the Šubarites,
who thus enlarged boundary and territory.
It happened that the façade (?) of the temple of Ašur, my lord,
which faced the gate known as "the invocation of the god of the land" and
the gate known as the "god of judges"
and which in days long past was built of massive hard stone and clay,

---

fell into decay, and became misplaced, because of the weakness [of its supports].
That structure, I restored.
Its strength I secured;

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REVERSE.

it-ti pi[23]-li ù ip-ri
ša [al]U-ba-si-e e-pu-uš
a-na aš-ri-šu u-ti-ir
35. ù na-ri-ia aš-ku-un
ru-bu-u[25] ar-ku-u[24] e-nu-ma
aš-ru šu-u[26]
an-ḫu-su lu-di-iš na-ri-ia ù[27] šu-me šaṭ-ra a-na aš-ri-šu
lu-ti-ir [il]Ašur ik-ri-be-šu i-ši-im-me[28]
40. ša šu-me šaṭ-ra i-pa-ši-ṭu-ma šum[30]-šu i-ša-ṭa-ru
ù lu na-ri-ia u-šam[31]-sa-ku a-na ša-aḫ-lu-uḳ-ti
i-ma-nu-u a-na me[31a]-lim i-na-du-u i-na e-pi-ri
u-ka-ta-mu[32] i-na išati i-ḳa-lu-u a-na mê
i-na-du-u a-na bit ekliti a-šar la a-ma-ri
45. u-še-ri-bu-ma i-ša-ka-nu ù lu aš-šu-um[33]
ir-ri-ti ši-na-ti-na na-ka-ra a-ḫa-a ia-a-ba
li-im[34]-na lišâna na-kir-ta[35] lu ma-am-ma[36] ša-na-a
u-ma-'a[37]-ru-ma u-ša-ḫa-zu ù lu me-im-ma
i-ḫa-sa-sa-am[38]-ma e-pu-šu [il]Ašur ilu ṣi-ru
50. a-ši-ib Ê-ḫar-sag-kur-kur-ra [il]A-nu [il]Bêl
[il]Ê-a ù [il]Ištar[40] ilâni rabûti [il]I-gi-gu
ša ša-me-e [il]A-nun-na-ku ša ir-ṣi-ti i-na napḫar-šu-nu
iz-zi-iš li-ki-el-mu-šu-ma ir-ri-ta
ma-ru-uš-ta ag-gi-iš li-ru-ru-uš[41] šum-šu zêr-šu
55. el-la-su ù ki-im-ta-šu i-na mâti lu-ḫal-li-ḳu
na-aš-pu-uḫ mâti-šu ḫa-la-aḳ ni-ši-šu ù ku-du-ri-šu
i-na pi[41a]-šu-nu kabti lu-ṣa-am-ma [il]Rammân i-na
ri-ḫi-iṣ[42]
li-ir-ḫi-su a-bu-bu šâru limnu sa-aḫ-ma-aš-tu
te-šu-u a-šam-šu-tu su-um[43]-ḳu bu-bu-tu

---

60. a-ru-ur-tu ḫu-ša-ḫu ina mâti-šu lu-ka-ia-an
mât-su a-bu-bi-iš lu-uš-ba-i a-na tili ù kar-me
lu-te-ir [il]Rammân i-na be-ri-iḳ li-mu-ti
mat-su li-ib-ri-iḳ

EDGE.

araḫ mu-ḫur[44] ilâni ûm XXV.[45]kam li-mu
65. [il]Šul-ma-nu Ḳarradu

Variants of the London Text.—23. pu. 24. London text reads *a-na ar-kat ûmê* before *rubû*. 25. rubû (ideogram). 26. London text adds u-šal-ba-ru-ma e-na-ḫu. 27. om. 28. i-še-me. 30. šu-um. 31. ša-am. 31[a]. mi. 32. London text places ina epiri ukatamû after ana mê inadû. 33. aš-šum. 34. lim. 35. li-ša-na na-ki-ir-ta. 36. ma-ma. 37. a. 37[a]. mi. 38. om. 39. Ilu MAH; our text Ilu NIN-MAH. 40. šamê. 41. šu. 41[a]. pi; our text ideogram (KA). 42. London text adds li-mu-ti. 43. un. 44. ḫu-ur. 45. XX.

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REVERSE.

by rebuilding it of hard stone and earth masses
obtained from the city of Ubase.
On the same spot, I rebuilt [it]
and my inscription I set up.
Whoever may reign in future days,
so far as that place is concerned,
let him put it in repair [in case it decays through age]* and be sure to replace my name at its proper place,
so that Ašur may hearken to his prayers.
But whosoever erases my name and replaces it by his own
or who violently removes my inscription,
consigns it to destruction, casts it into the stream,
or covers it up with earth, burns it in the fire, or throws it
into the water, or within a dark chamber where it cannot be seen,
places it, or if any one for fear of
the [following] curses engage a bitter enemy, a wicked foe
or a cruel slanderer or any one whomsoever,
to seize [the inscription] or should
he conceive any kind of a plan and carry it out, may Ašur the glorious deity
whose seat is in the "mountain house of the lands," may Anu, Bêl, Êa and Ištar, the great gods, may [each] Igigu
of heaven, and [each] Anunaku of earth in their united strength look upon him
in anger. May they curse
him with their strongest curse,
may they annihilate in the land his name, his seed, his power and his family;
the ruination of his land, the destruction of his men and of his territory,
may they decree by their power. May Rammân completely
overpower him, may storm, destructive wind, rebellion,
whirlwind and hurricane, drought, famine
distress and hunger settle in his land,
swoop down upon his land, like a violent storm, and convert it into a mass of ruins.
May Rammân with a destructive bolt strike his land.

EDGE.

Month of "Homage to the gods," the 25th day,
Archonship of Šulmanu-ḳarradu.

* So the London text.

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IV.

ANALYSIS OF THE INSCRIPTION.

The inscription may be divided into six sections: 1) Name and titles, the titles embodying a brief survey of the king's military deeds (ll. 1–9). 2) Genealogy, including the name of the king's father, grandfather, and great-grandfather, all of whom occupied the throne of Assyria before him and who all aided in extending its boundaries (ll. 10–24). 3) Description of the restoration of a portion of the temple of Ašur* which had fallen to decay, and of the setting up of a commemorative inscription (ll. 25–35). This section forms the kernel, as it were, of the whole inscription. It was because of this building operation that the stone was prepared, and the several copies of it must have been placed in such a position, that they could have been seen. 4) The request addressed to the successors of the king to restore the structure in the event of its decay (ll. 36–39). 5) Warning against effacing in any way the memory of the king's work, and severe curses invoked upon anyone, who disobeys in letter or spirit, these warnings (ll. 40–63). 6) Date (ll. 64–65).

It will be seen from this analysis that the prologue and epilogue, as it were, occupy a far larger share than the gist of the inscription. With 24 lines of introduction and 24 lines of warnings and threats, 15 lines seem to suffice for telling us the whole story of the occasion that led to the preparation of the inscription. This unequal proportion between what from our point of view would be distinguished as incidentals and essentials is characteristic, not only of historical inscriptions, but of the epistolary literature of the Assyrians and Babylonians as well. For the older period, represented by the *El-Amarna* letters, the same remark holds true. What the writer in each case wishes to say is comprised within a few lines—the rest is embellishment. The "epistolary" and "commemorative" literature in Babylonia and Assyria are thus shown to have a common origin. The difference between the two consists essentially (1) in self-glorification in the case of the "commemorative" inscriptions—whether purely dedicatory or embodying annalistic details—as

* "Façade" as suggested below, pp. 169–70.

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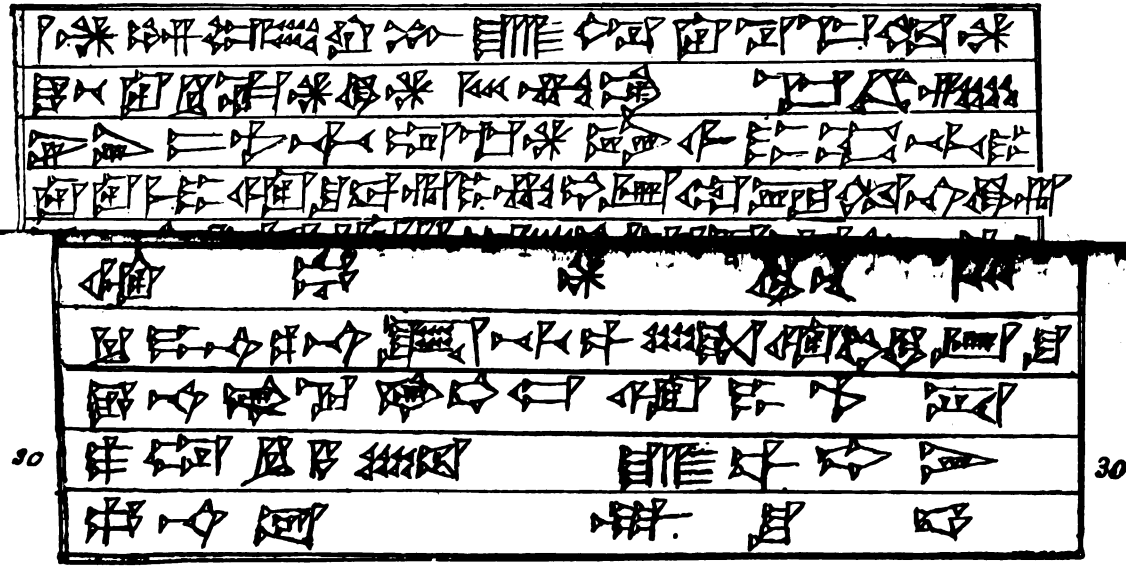
INSCRIPTION OF RAMMÂN-NIRARI I.

OBVERSE.



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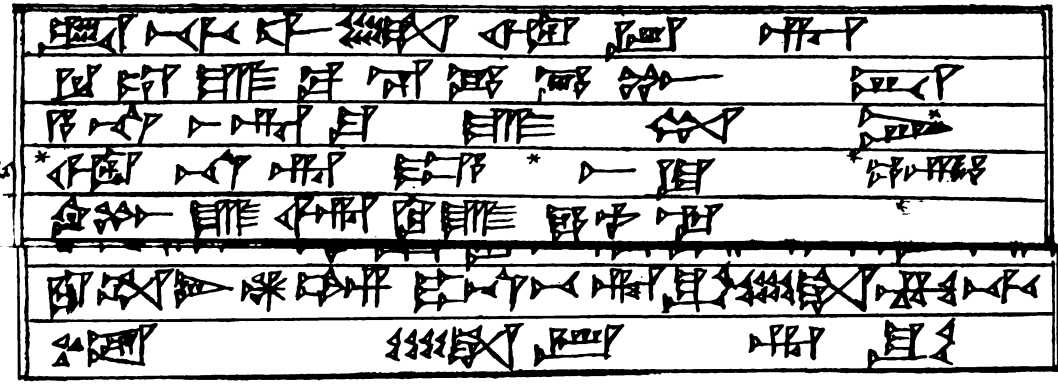
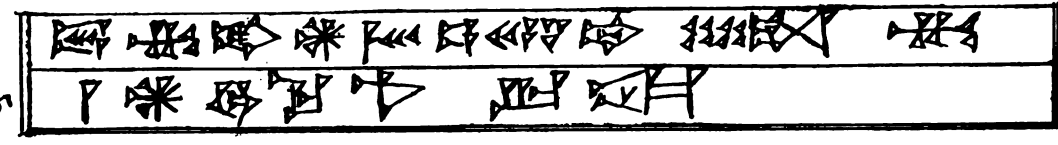
REVERSE.



EDGE.



* ERASURES.

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against the glorification of the person addressed in the case of an epistle, and (2) the addition of warnings and threats at the close of the former, as against the solemn prayer, often with an emphatic summing up the purpose of the letter, with which an official communication closes.

V.

THE NAME OF THE KING.

The reading of neither of the two elements of which the name of the king is composed, is certain. The second part ṢAB + DAḪ (ṢAB = ṣâbu, "soldier"; and DAḪ = daḫâdu, "abundant";) represents the verb narâru, "to help." In combination with the name of a deity, it might represent any part of the verb, but Pognon (p. 21) has made it probable that as an element in a proper name, a substantive formation of the stem is to be preferred. Two substantive forms occur written phonetically in proper names Na-ra-ra and Ni-ra-ri,* just as we have two abstract forms from the same stem, nararûtu and nirarûtu. On the whole, the form with *i* seems to be the more common in both instances and the preference may therefore be given to Nirari. At the same time, it is well to bear in mind that a positive decision is impossible. As for the final vowels in the two forms (Nirari and Narara) *i* in the one case and *a* in the other, no great significance is to be attached to this variation. The loss of the final vowels as an indication of case-endings belongs to an early period of the Babylonian language, if indeed the pronunciation of the final vowels was ever consistently carried out. The vowel, if pronounced at all at the end of the word, must have been vague in character; and from certain indications, one might be led to believe that the scribe was influenced by the formation in question, in the choice of final vowels—using *i* in nirari because of the first syllable, and *a* in narara because of the *a* in the first syllable. In any case, the final vowel has no grammatical import. The *i* is neither an indication of the genitive, nor the suffix of the first person, and it is not at all probable that the *a* of narara is the sign of the accu-

*The interchange between فَعَل and فِعَل is very common in Arabic nouns.

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sative.* Adopting the form nirari, and bearing in mind that the word was probably heard as nirar, with only the faintest suggestion of a vocalic sound at the end, the meaning of the second element in the name, would be "a helper."

A long controversy has been waged regarding the proper pronunciation of the name of the deity, who is represented by the ideograph IM as the "storm god," or perhaps it would be more correct to say, as one of the storm gods of the Babylonian-Assyrian religion. Oppert has recently made a strong plea† for *Adad*, as the name by which the god was known. But so far as the testimony goes which he has adduced, it only shows that the Babylonians represented the Aramaic deity *Hadad* or *Adad* by the ideogram IM.‡ Bezold's syllabary (*PSBA.*, XI., p. 173 *sq.*) points in the same direction, as Hilprecht, *Assyriaca*, p. 78, has recognized. The words in the column in which A-da-ad occurs are all (1) either descriptions of the god IM, or (2) names by which the deity was known in Babylonia, or (3) his equivalents among the gods of other nations. Immediately following Adad comes Me-er, and there is no reason, *a priori*, why the preference should be given to the former over the latter. The common name by which IM was known in Babylonia was not mentioned in the list because it was unnecessary. The list was prepared by a learned scribe for instruction in "comparative mythology." We may therefore conclude that neither Adad nor Mer was the *common* name of the deity in Babylonia, although he was known under these designations, and the ideogram IM was used in proper names to represent both Adad and Mer.

That the deity AN-IM was read Rammân in both Babylonia and Assyria may with every degree of probability be concluded from the evidence recently put together again by Thureau-Dangin.‖ The etymology that suggests itself for the name, "the thunderer" (from a stem רעם) points conclusively to the god IM

*In this case, we would have to assume the omission of a verb, and nararu would no longer refer to the deity, mentioned in the first element of the name.

†In his article above referred to and also in the *Journal asiatique*, Sept.-Oct., 1895, pp. 393-396, and in the *Zeits. für Assyr.* IX., pp. 310-314.

‡So already in the *El-Amarna* tablets, and down to the latest period of Babylonian-Assyrian history.

‖ *Journal asiatique*, Sept.-Oct., 1895, p. 386. The note ša rimi (III R. 67, 46 *e*) also shows that IM was regarded as the "god of thunder."

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as the one meant by ^{il}Ra-ma-na, ^{il}Ra-man and ^{il}Ram-ma-nu, all of which forms occur thus phonetically written in Assyrian proper names. Of these three spellings, the latter is clearly the most correct. The form فَعْلَان from רעם would be ra'-ma-nu, and the assimilation of the ע would lead to the reduplication of the *m*, *i. e.*, ram-ma-nu. The form Ra-man shows again that the final vowel was not pronounced or only faintly heard as a short *a*—hence Ra-ma-na. We are justified therefore in writing Rammân. But it is also certain that AN-IM was known as Im-me-ru, and it is strange that Pognon (p. 22), who already refers to the name Na-ra-am ^{il}Im-me-ru should have overlooked this fact. Thureau-Dangin, in the article quoted above, now calls attention to this form Im-me-ru as the name of the storm god, and which is vouched for in the early Babylonian period by its occurrence both in proper names and independently in tablets of the Ḫammurabi period.* Moreover, the form Immeru or Immer—both occur—suggests the origin of the ideographic designation of the god as IM, which seems clearly to be derived from Im-me-ru by the artificial "acrologistic" process which accounts for so many of the phonetic values of the cuneiform syllabary.† There is considerable force therefore in Thureau-Dangin's plea that Immeru is the real name of the storm deity, and that Ramman as "the thunderer" merely represents an epithet by which he was known. A point in favor of this assumption, is that the ideogram in question not only has the phonetic value Im, but also mer (and mur). The name accordingly was divided into two parts and each employed as a phonetic value for the sign. Many of the gods have such additional designations to their real names, and are occasionally referred to by epithets descriptive of their powers. I am myself inclined to believe that Im-me-ru represents the *oldest* name of the storm god, and that he continued to be so called in Babylonia even to a late day. But no evidence has as yet been brought forward for the use of the name in Assyria. Here, so

*Meissner, *Altbabyl. Privatrecht*, No. 35, 22. That the name appears without the determinative for deity is of no consequence. See Meissner, p. 92.

†That at least 80 phonetic values of cuneiform signs are to be traced back to Babylonian words can hardly be denied by even the most violent adherents of the Sumero-Akkadian theory.

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far as actual testimony goes, the storm god was known as Rammân, and admitting that this was originally only an epithet, still it appears to have become a very general designation, and hence pending evidence to the contrary, it is preferable to assume that in the name of the Assyrian king whose inscription we are considering, IM is to be read Rammân. The Old Testament in its preservation of בֵּית־רִמּוֹן (2 Kgs. 5:18), *i. e.*, House of the god Rammân, and of the proper name מַבְרִמּוֹן testifies at least to the use of Rammân as an actual name of the deity and not merely as an epithet. The great geographical list of Dḫutmose III. also vouches for a place known as Ramannay in Syria (Müller, *Asien und Europa*, p. 289). Now that we are beginning to see how close the contact was from the earliest period of Babylonian-Assyrian history between Babylonia and Assyria on the one hand—and the entire "Westland" on the other—it is not at all impossible that the use of Rammân as a designation of the storm god in Assyria was due to "Aramaic" influences. At all events, there is certainly some connection between Rammân and רִמּוֹן of Aram, and with this we must for the present rest content.

VI.

THE TITLES OF THE KING.

In contrast to the inscriptions of the later Assyrian kings, Rammân-nirari contents himself with comparatively few titles in the proper sense. He is a "prince," a "guardian of the gods," a "king" (l. 8) and a "priest of Bêl." It so happens that he does not call himself "king of Assyria." That he used this title, however, is shown (*a*) by the two-lined inscription, III R. 6, iii, No. *C*, and (*b*) by the synchronous history (col. i, 24). He accords the title, also, to his father and grandfather, in the inscription published in the *Trans. Soc. of Bibl. Archæol.*, IV., p. 347; and in our inscription, the great-grandfather likewise is called "a great king." Beside the title "king of Assyria," we may add another one, šar kiššati, "king of the legions," to which he appears to have given the preference over all others. So in the inscription I R. 6, iii, *B.* 1, probably also *ibid. A*, on the sword, published in the *Trans. Soc. of Bibl. Archæol.*, and on a brick, pub-

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lished I R. 6, No. iv, his son Shalmaneser I. calls his father šar kiššati. It was a more inclusive title and was introduced into Assyria in imitation of the custom of Babylonian monarchs, its novelty being a factor in lending it popularity. Again, it is to be noted that whereas he calls his father and grandfather by the old title of the rulers of Assyria, išakku, or priest of the god Ashur, he assumes the higher dignity as the šakanaku of all gods—the "guardian" as it were of all temples. To emphasize a certain control that he claims over at least a portion of what once belonged to Babylonian rulers, he adds to his offices "priest of Bêl." Bêl is a synonym for Babylonia and such a haughty title must have been particularly painful to the rulers of the south—an encroachment upon their privileges. The use of it, however, proves that the "Cassites" whom Rammân-nirari claims to have subdued are the "Cassite" rulers of Babylonia, and not the people of Elam.* Rammân-nirari's titles in this way, though comparatively simple, reflect growing power and increasing haughtiness, which reach a climax in the days of Tiglath-pileser I.

VII.

RAMMÂN-NIRARI'S CONQUESTS.

Like a refrain, the words "enlarger of territory and boundary" ring through the first two sections of the inscription (ll. 1–24). This constitutes Rammân-nirari's boast and he extends the epithet to his three predecessors. Most of the people mentioned by him, are known to us from later inscriptions. Grouped together in the order in which they are mentioned, we have the Cassites, Ḳutites, Lulumites, Šubarites, the cities of Lupdi and Eluḫat, the lands of Rapiḳu, Turuki and Nigimti, the Aḫlamites, Sutites and Iaurites. At the time that Rammân-nirari ascended the throne, the Cassite dynasty still had complete control over Babylonia, but their power was on the wane. Rammân-nirari tells us that his grandfather overcame the Cassites, and the "synchronous" history (col. i, 18–23) bears out the statement that Bel-nirari succeeded in enlarging his own dominion at the expense of the Cassites. At that time Kurigalzu

*Winckler admits this as possible (*Gesch.*, p. 159). He might have gone further and adopted it as the more probable view. See below under section VII.

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occupied the throne. This same history tells us that the district of Lulumi was ceded by Nazimaruttaš to Rammân-nirari after an engagement in which Assyrians were the conquerors. These Lulumi, together with the Aḫlami and Ḳuti, engage the active attention of Assyrian kings down to the days of Tiglath-pileser I.* After that, the Lulumites disappear but the Aḫlamites are found in inscriptions of Sennacherib by the side of the Sutites, and "the widely extended land of Ḳuti" is mentioned as late as Cyrus (V R. 35, 31). From the manner in which the Ḳutites, Aḫlamites, Sutites and Iaurites are grouped together when Pudîl's conquests are referred to (l. 15) we may be permitted to conclude that all these districts represent the extension of Assyrian power to the east and southeast; and Lulumi† lies in this same region. The precise position, however, of these lands is still a matter of doubt. In general, it may be said that the nations here referred to are the wild hordes extending to the east of the Tigris from the boundary of Elam, northward and northeastward into the Kurdish mountain region. The districts of Turuku and Nigimti occur only here. They probably lay likewise to the east, perhaps northeast of Assyria. Pudîl's campaigns appear to have been restricted to this region. It is tempting to suppose that the districts subdued by him are enumerated in a running list from north to south. Turuku and Nigimti would thus represent the northeastern limits of his conquests while the Sutites and Iaurites would belong to the southeast. Sharp limitations were probably never drawn. We are dealing with wild hordes who roamed at large over large districts. Aḫlamites, indeed, are found to both sides of the Euphrates, but those lying to the west are distinguished by Tiglath-pileser I. (col. v, 47) as "Aramaic" Aḫlami. The expression incidentally confirms the propriety of placing the Aḫlami, when occurring without any specification, to the east, more precisely, northeast of Babylonia. On the other hand the conquest of the Šubarites

* Shalmaneser I. refers to them, III R., 3, No. 3; Tiglath-pileser I., III R., 5, No. 2, where twenty-five cities are spoken of as having been conquered and destroyed by the king.

† The identity of Lulumi (or -me) with Lulubi (or -bu) suggested by Tiele (*Gesch.*, p. 158, note) is extremely plausible. So also Hommel (*Gesch.*, 451). The conclusions drawn by Scheil (*Recueil*, etc., XVII., p. 38) as to the situation of Lulubu are properly rejected by Hilprecht (*OBI.*, I., 2, p. 31, note 4). Accepting the proposed identity of Lulumi or Lulubi the reference to this land in the so-called "Stele of Zohab" (*Recueil*, etc., XIV., p. 103) carries us back to the times of Sargon I. Its occurrence with Kaššu Sutu Subartu (= Šubari) in the "Dibbarra" legend (K. 2619, col. iv, ll. 9-14, *Beitr. z. Assyr.*, II., p. 429) as in our text is another point in favor of the identification.

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represents the extension of the Assyrian power to the west and southwest. The limits of the conquests on this side are defined as extending from Lubdi to Eluḫat (see p. 168). This land, too, appears to have been controlled at one time by the Cassite kings of Babylonia (Synchronous History, col. i, 21) and from the fact that it was cut off from their dominion already by the great-grandfather of our king, it would appear that the attack upon the Cassites was begun in an indirect fashion by pruning, as it were, the districts lying outside of Babylonia proper. The attack upon Babylonia itself does not appear to have been made in the days of Rammân-nirari. The further decline of the Cassite power during the century following upon Rammân-nirari rendered this step possible at the close of the twelfth century, but not before the Cassites had been driven from the control of the south by a great conqueror known as Nebuchadnezzar I.

VIII.

THE GODS OF RAMMÂN-NIRARI.

It is worthy of note, that despite the fact that Ašur was the chief deity of the land as the patron of the capital city of Ašur, Rammân-nirari recognizes Anu's position as the "theoretical" head of the pantheon. When confessing his dependence for his successful career upon the favor of the gods, he begins with Anu and then enumerates the great triad Ašur, Šamaš and Rammân. Later on, in the history of the Assyrian power, Ašur assumes such vast proportions that he comes to hold a place by himself — usurping, as it were, the rank of Anu — and the great triad is definitely constituted as Sin, Šamaš and Rammân. Ištar lags behind and despite her supremacy as the goddess of battle *par excellence*, she does not take rank with the gods of the triad. As an inheritance from an earlier age, a triad of gods is formed by Anu, Bêl and Êa, which already in the days of Ḫammurabi are employed as comprehending the three great divisions of the universe, heaven, earth and water. It is interesting to observe, what looks like an attempt at a compromise between the two triads, made by Rammân-nirari. At the beginning of his inscription, he invokes Anu as the head of the pantheon, the secondary triad (Ašur,

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Šamaš and Rammân) and Ištar as the chief female divinity. At the close he assigns to Ašur a place by himself, then takes up the older triad Anu, Bêl and Êa and once more "tags on" the mention of the "great goddess," NIN MAH. The four deities are comprised under the designation "great gods." Finally, with a play upon the "divine" element in his own name, Rammân being his particular "helper," he calls upon the god of storms to manifest his destructive power to an especially intense degree. The Igigi and Anu-naki are simply the lower order of gods—the group of spirits who are sharply differentiated from "the great gods."

IX.

THE TEMPLE OF AŠUR.

The sacred edifice whose "façade," according to the interpretation proposed (see pp. 169–70), Rammân-nirari restores, stood in the city of Ašur—the old capital of Assyria. Its history may be traced back to Samsi-Rammân (about 1700 B. C.) who calls himself the builder of the "house of Ašur."* The term "builder," as has been recognized, is distinct from "founder," and there is every reason to believe that the structure is even older than Samsi-Rammân. Succeeding rulers—so one whose name is read Irišum† by Winckler (*Geschichte*, p. 153)—were engaged in embellishing the sacred edifice. Rammân-nirari I. falls into line, and his successors manifest an equal zeal in restoring portions that were threatened with ruin,—so, *e. g.*, Ašur-riš-iši.‡ Around this edifice, the most precious recollections of the Assyrian rulers centered, for it was as the "priests of Ašur," devoted to his service in his temple, that they served, as it were the apprenticeship which fitted them for their future rôle as conquerors. It was from the city in which that temple stood, that they began to enlarge their territory, and their deity grew in equal proportion to the increasing power of his subjects. The city of Ašur became the country of Ašur. When in the ninth century Ašurnaṣirbal definitely removed the capital of the country from Ašur to a place further north, the god also changed his residence. A new temple was erected to him at Kalḫu and from this time on, we hear nothing further of the time-honored structure at Ašur.

* I R. 6, No. 1. † I R. 6, No. 2.
‡ III R. 3, No. 6, ll. 8-11. We may confidently restore the name [i] Ašur in l. 8.

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X.

GRAMMATICAL NOTES.

Having thus treated of the general aspects presented by the inscription, it will be proper to justify the translation and interpretations proposed by a consideration of the words and passages that call for comment.

1. The phrase simât ili appears to be used by Rammân-nirari, to emphasize his worthiness to occupy the throne of Assyria. Literally, it signifies "the ornament of the god," but it is used in a more general way as "worthy" of a deity and "befitting" to a deity. See the passages in Delitzsch, *Hdw.*, p. 235 *b*. In accord with this the phrase la simâte signifies "unworthy." Sennacherib thus speaks of a hated rival as having been ana la simâte-šu (I R., 41, 17) "improperly" put on the throne of Babylon. When Rammân-nirari calls himself one, who is regarded as a person worthy of being singled out for distinction by a god, it is much the same as when a modern ruler ascribes his position to "divine grace."

2. The spelling ša-ka-an-ki is curious. One should expect ša-ka-an-na-ak or šakanaki. Neither Pognon nor Peiser caught the force of the expression at the close of this line. Their mistake consisted, in combining the words with the beginning of the next line, viz:

3. nir dapnuti—the reading of which is now rendered certain by the duplicate. This phrase, however, is quite independent of mukîn maḫaze. Oppert's translation, "qui a établi ses cités fortes contre les incursions des hordes Cissiennes, etc.," is no improvement. Nir is a substantive (from a stem נאר [*cf.* line 18], cognate to ניר from which we obtain niru, "yoke") standing in a construct relation to dapnuti, and signifying "subduer." Dapnuti is the plural of dapnu which is a synonym of ḳarradu (II R., 39, 2*a*). Instead, however, of combining dapnuti as an adjective with umman (so Delitzsch, *Hdw.*, 226 *b*) which is hardly legitimate, I take ummân Kaššî, etc., as standing in apposition to dapnuti. Of course we may translate "the mighty ones of the armies," etc., but this construct relation would necessarily have to be interpreted as conveying apposition, like in English "the city of Chicago"=the city, Chicago. Separating nir dapnuti in this way from mukîn maḫâze, the latter phrase, I take it, describes the king's firm hold upon the cities of his realm. As Ašur is spoken of by Tiglath-pileser I. (col. i, 2) as mukîn šarruti, "firmly establishing the king's rule," so Rammân-nirari boasts of his "strong control."

6. The correct reading Lupdi (instead of Kupdi) was already suggested by Tiele (*Gesch.*, 141). Through the duplicate, this line becomes clear. A town of Lu-ub-di, situated in northern Babylonia is men-

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tioned in the so-called "Synchronous History" (II R., 65, ii, 22). We there learn that Tiglath-pileser I., King of Assyria (about 1130 B. C.), conquered "Akarsallu up to Lubdi, the Aḫ[lamites* and] Suḫites till Rapiḳ." From this passage we may conclude that Rapiḳ is to be sought considerably to the northwest of Lubdi. Eluḫat—which can only be a proper name, Oppert notwithstanding—is to be sought still further north and west.

14. The word at the close of this line is obscure. The London text reads gu-nu just as line 22, the same text, has ku-un against ku-un-nu in our version. Oppert taking it as a noun from גבן translates "protector," but the passage in the Sargon inscription (cyl. 18) mupalliku gu-un-ni-šu argues against Oppert's view. From the context in the Sargon cylinder some such meaning as "the one who appropriated his [or their] district" seems to be called for. See Scheil's note (*Recueil*, etc., p. 139). The passage he quotes from Samsi-Ramman has nothing to do with our view. His reading of the passage, moreover, is erroneous. Meissner-Rost (*Bauinschriften Sanheribs*, p. 39) suggest "Wohnsitz."

22. Oppert's rendering ana ruḳati "to distant lands" is preferable to Peiser's "to distant days."

23. For musipiḫ el-la-at, etc., Oppert proposes "who reduced to slavery the tribes," etc. Two passages, however, in Sennacherib's inscriptions show the improbability of such a rendering. In the inscription of *Bavian*, l. 37, we read pu-ḫur-šu-nu u-sap-pi-iḫ-ma u-par-ri-ir el-lat-su-un. The parallel passage, *Taylor* cylinder iv, 42, reads ellati-šu u-sap-pi-iḫ-ma u-par-ri-ir pu-ḫur-šu. Hence, ellatu = puḫur, *i. e.*, "masses" or "forces" and sapâḫu = parâru, *i. e.*, "break to pieces, destroy."

25. Lines 25 to 34 contain a number of difficulties. In the first place, our text reads, l. 28, ša i-na pa-na it-ti pi-li ù ṭi-ṭi ip-šu as against ina pa-na ip-šu of the London copy. In my article, *ZA.*, X., pp. 44–45, I have suggested that the words it-ti pi-li ù ṭi-iṭ-ti constitute a *varia lectio* for it-ti pi-li ù ip-ri (l. 32) and which by an error in dictation (see my article, pp. 46–48) were inserted at a wrong place. In any case, the words are unnecessary in l. 28. Their only purpose could be, to emphasize the fact that the ṣir-la-la was rebuilt of the same material of which it was originally constructed—hard stone and clay; and, surely, this is nothing remarkable. Nor does one see why the scribe should in this case, have used ṭiṭu in one place as against ipru in the other. Moreover, in ll. 28, 29 the narrative is concerned with the age and decay of the structure in question, and the mention of the material rather interrupts the context. The preference is therefore to be given to the reading in the London text. The variant ṭi-ṭi for ip-ri is, however, a welcome aid in settling the meaning of ll. 31, 33. Strange as it may seem, Rammân-nirari imports not merely stone but also earthmasses

* Distinguished as the Aramaean (or western) Aḫlamites (Prism, col. v, 46).

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from a distant place—*Ubase*, which belonging to mât tamdi or "sea district" (II R., 53, 3; see also II R., 60, 27) is to be sought beyond the Euphrates in the northeast of Assyria and probably in the Lebanon mountain range. Pilu, originally alabaster,* is used so generally for hard, quarried stone that one cannot be certain of its precise application. It is probable that a kind of marble rather than soft alabaster is intended in our passage. In general, the sense of the entire passage (ll. 25–34) is now clear. A portion of the old temple of Ašur has fallen to decay and is restored by the king with material brought from Ubase. The suffix in ašri-šu (l. 34) must refer to ṣir-la-la (l. 25) and the line "to its place I restored" emphasizes, that the king was careful to rebuild the ṣir-la-la at precisely the same place and to restore it to its exact former condition. By reading with Delitzsch (*Hdw.*, p. 520 *a*) u-pi-ḫi-ir, l. 30, (instead of -ṭi with Peiser) and taking the word in the sense of "restore" for which there is abundant evidence, the interpretation proposed is justified.

The phrase dannasu† ak-šud, which occurs a number of times in the historical inscriptions (see Delitzsch, *Hdw.*, 224 *a*) is generally rendered "its foundation I reached." The evidence, however, does not appear altogether satisfactory for attaching to dannatu the force of "foundation." The word means "strength" and is applied to a fortress as a place of strength. In combination with kašâdu, it is used to emphasize the secure establishment of the foundation for a building. So, *e. g.*, Tiglath-pileser (col. vii, 76, 77) "its ground I cleaned dannasu akšud, its foundation on strong mountain stone I laid." Similarly, Sargon (Lay., 33, 16). In view of this, it seems preferable to interpret the phrase in a more general way as "its strength I secured" (*a*) by making its foundation firm, or (*b*) as in our text, by a structure of marble and clay, carefully chosen. Niš il mâti and Il daiâni (ll. 26, 27) are the names of two gates, as Pognon already recognized. The word niš is well-known from the incantation texts and can only mean "invocation." The "god of the land" is probably Ašur; the "god of judges" perhaps Samas who is the great divine "judge" *par excellence*. The use of iḫ-ḫi-is (l. 29 from a stem מחח) is interesting, as pointing to the manner in which the edifice "decayed." The foundation no longer being strong enough, it became "dislocated." The conjunction Ù is employed here as the Hebrew and Arabic *wa* to indicate the reason for the dislocation "for it had become weak."

We may now proceed to a consideration of the difficult term ṣir-la-la. Pognon (p. 36) reads muṣ-la-la and takes the word as a synonym of ṣululu, "roof." He is followed by Hommel (*Gesch.*, p. 502). But the structure referred to cannot be a roof. The king would hardly place an inscription (l. 35) on the roof of a building; nor could a roof well be

* Meissner und Rost, *Bauinschriften Sanheribs*, p. 23.
† dannasu = dannatsu.

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described as being situated between (or opposite) two gates. Oppert proposes "un tableau en briques vernissées." From the context we may conclude (1) that the ṣir-la-la formed a part of the temple, (2) that it was a construction of considerable magnitude, (3) of hard stone and clay, (4) that it had to be firmly built to prevent it from being dislocated, (5) that it faced two gates and hence (6) that while within the sacred enclosure, it belonged to the exterior portion of the temple, suitable (7) for placing an inscription. The favorite place for dedicatory inscriptions among the Babylonians and Assyrians being at the entrance to a building or to a portion of it, everything points to the ṣir-la-la as one of the main entrances to the temple. I would therefore propose to see in ṣir-la-la the technical term for one of the great façades that, we know, formed a prominent feature of the Assyrian temples and palaces. As for the word itself, the suggestion may be hazarded that it is a compound of ṣir and la-la. Ṣirru, as is well known, is a term for some part of a door (see Delitzsch, *Hdw.*, *s. v.*). From the fact that there was an upper and a lower ṣirru and from the connection in which the term occurs with nukušu "socket" and askuppatu "threshold," it would seem that ṣirru is the portal itself.* The addition of "lala"—"superior, grand"—would properly convey to ṣir-la-la the meaning of "façade,"—a "portal structure" as it were.

37. ašru is used here, as elsewhere, much like the Hebrew הַמָּקוֹם for a place, as well as for a structure—particularly a sacred one—erected on the place.

41. The use of the *shafel* of masâku in the monolith of Ashurnaṣirbal (I R. 27, 58) in connection with abâtu "destroy" aids us in specifying the force of the verb in our passage. It is a "violent"† removal of the inscription against which the king protests. Oppert's proposition to render ana šaḫluḳti "to be repolished" is not acceptable. Such a meaning does not suit the context in a phrase like "šaḫluḳti biti" (III R. 61, 21 *a*). The form ušazaku in the "Stele of Zohâb" (*Recueil*, etc., XIV., p. 103) for ušamsaku is interesting.

42. The various possible ways of destroying the tablet are grouped in pairs: "Whoever erases my name or writes his own—violently removes my inscription or consigns it to destruction—casts it into streams or covers it with earth—burns it in fire or throws it into water—puts it in a dark place [or] deposits it in a spot where it cannot be seen." Arranging the phrases in this way, the apparent redundancy is explained, and through the parallelism, the precise meaning of words that would other-

* One can speak of an upper and lower portal, II R., 18, *c*. 56, 57. There does not appear to be any direct connection between ṣirru and Hebrew צִיר. Meissner-Rost (*Bauinschriften*, etc., pp. 45-46) take ṣirru as the "socket," but in the "Sennacherib" passage in question "portal" suits the context far better. The king places a costly stone as a support to the portal of the various gates of his palace. The meaning of the stem "move hither and thither" (according to Meissner-Rost) applies to a portal rather than a socket.

† *Cf.* Arabic *samaka* "seize hold of."

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wise be obscured.* So it is clear that the mention of melu in l. 42 is introduced as a proper contrast to epiru whereas in ll. 43, 44 "the throwing into the water" is the complement to "burning in fire." There is no justification therefore to seek for so remote an interpretation—apart from other objections—for l. 42, as Oppert proposes.† Again, the obscure ideograph AZAG-AN in l. 44 becomes an evident synonym to ašar la a-ma-ri. Pognon already suggested the reading bit ekliti, and the numerous passages furnished by Belser (*Beitr. zur Assyr.*, II., p. 153) in which ašar la amâri and bit ekliti occurs side by side with precisely the same verbs šakânu and the *shafel* of êrêbu as in our passage, place the proposed reading beyond all reasonable doubt. It is true that AZAG has generally the sense of ellu, bright,—the very reverse of eklitu, but parallels may be brought forward from many languages to this interchange between "light" and "darkness" in the case of the same word. At the beginning of the Talmudic treatise "Pesachim," there is a long discussion as to whether אור means "evening" or "morning"; in Aramaic נהר is used for "blindness" as well as for "sight" and our own English "lurid" is colloquially though incorrectly applied to something "bright" as well as to that which is "gloomy." The possibility, however, might also be considered of AZAG-AN being employed as a "euphemistic" expression, in order to avoid the unpleasant suggestion aroused by the real phrase. In view of the fact, however, that the phonetic reading bit ekliti actually occurs, such a supposition need hardly detain us.

46. "These curses" is a reference to ll. 50–63. The king, anticipating the curses that will be hurled against the one who is guilty of any mischief done to his inscription, declares that instigation to wrong-doing will be punished upon the instigator, precisely as though the latter had acted directly. The punishment cannot be avoided by a subterfuge.

Each one of the nouns mentioned in ll. 46, 47 has an adjective attached to it: (1) aḫâ belongs to nakara, (2) limna to ia-a-ba and (3) nakirta lišâna. The latter word is used for the one "possessing" an evil tongue, *i. e.*, the calumniator.

50. On Ê-ḫar-sag-kur-kur-ra "the mountain house of the lands" where the gods dwell, see Jeremias, *Babyl. Assyr. Vorstellungen*, etc., pp. 59–62.

* The points of resemblance between the phrases used by Rammân-nirari and those which are found at the close of the prism of Tiglath-pileser I. (col. viii, ll. 63–76 and 83–88) are too striking to be accidental. The phrases in question appear to have belonged to the "stock-in-trade" of the scribes who handed them down from one generation to the other. The formulae were of course subject to certain variations. Prof. D. H. Mueller's arrangement of the "blessings and curses" in the Babylonian and Assyrian royal inscriptions (*Die Propheten in ihrer ursprünglichen Form*, pp. 14–19) casts a new light upon the method of literary composition employed by the ancient scribes of Mesopotamia.

† He reads misi (*sic!* and translates "rejects"). Dr. Muss-Arnolt calls my attention to the fact that Flemming already suggested (*Goett. Gel. Anz.*, 1889, p. 867 *sq.*) to read *mi-šim* "oblivion." We should expect maši or ma-še as IV R.², 50, 34ᵈ *ana la ma-še-e*.

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51. The singulars Igigu and Anunaku are to be taken with Oppert in the distributive sense. Nin-Maḫ, "great lady," is evidently intended here as a designation for Ištar, though elsewhere used for Bau, Ṣarpanitum, Gula and other goddesses.

52. Oppert and also Meissner (*Altbabyl. Privatrecht*, p. 114) have correctly seen that the word at the end of the line is napḫar-šu-nu.

62. Meissner, *loc. cit.*, gives the preference to the reading libri in the London text. He overlooks, however, as does strangely enough also Oppert, that not only has the new text very distinctly ina be-ri-iḳ, but that in the new edition of the London text (IV R., 39) the sign following -ri is -iḳ, and not -šu. The sign li which follows, requires only four pairs of the double angle wedge; the fifth pair belongs to the preceding sign, which is thus proved to be iḳ.

64. Regarding the identification of the month muḫur ilâni, which signifies apparently "offering to the gods," I should like to suggest that the first month of the Babylonian calendar, the month Nisan, is here meant. This month is ideographically written as the "month (or festival) of the sanctuary."* Such a designation points, distinctly, to religious observances of some kind. At the beginning of this month there was celebrated the great festival of Zagmuk, on which occasion Marduk, followed by his consort, his son Nabu and other gods, was carried in solemn procession along the main street of Babylon. Jensen, indeed, would specify the designation "month of the sanctuary" as a reference to the fates of mankind which were determined at the festival by the god, sitting in the "chamber" or "sanctuary of fates" (*Kosmologie der Babylonier*, p. 87). Be that as it may, the New Year's festival was marked by homages paid to the great gods in general. Sacrifices and offerings formed a feature of the Zagmuk festival already in the days of Gudea (inscription *G*, col. iii, 6–iv, 17). It would be appropriate therefore to call the month muḫur ilâni, "offering" or "homage" to the gods.

*On the ideographic form see Muss-Arnolt, "Assyro-Babylonian Months" (*Journal of the Soc. of Bibl. Lit.*, XI., pp. 76, 77).

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THE HEBREW TEXT OF ZECHARIAH 1–8, COMPARED WITH THE DIFFERENT ANCIENT VERSIONS.*

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I.

INTRODUCTION.

The purpose of this thesis is to compare the Hebrew text of the first eight chapters of Zechariah with the ancient versions, and to examine the variations presented in the versions. In the presentation of the results, I have received suggestions from Workman's *The Text of Jeremiah*, and from Patterson's *The Septuagint Text of Hosea*. But I have tried, as far as possible, to consider the nature of every variation more carefully than Workman did, and to classify the variations more logically than Patterson. It is not the purpose to write a commentary on the book or notes upon the text, but simply and concisely to present the variations in the different versions and classify them according to their probable origin. Consequently there is no attempt made to explain all technical names and expressions common in the works of textual criticism.

The most important of all the versions is the Septuagint, and I have examined it more carefully than any other version. The LXX. of Zech. 1–8 seems to be the work of one man, perhaps different from the translator of the remaining chapters of the book. The translation is a very careful and excellent presentation of the original. But it is less literal than the LXX. translation of other portions of the Old Testament, and presents many interesting variations. There are cases of suggestive additions, of careless omissions, of free paraphrase, and of unintelligible translation. The next in importance is the Vulgate, which gives a very accurate and faithful translation of Zech. 1–8, and con-

* A Dissertation presented to the Faculty of the Graduate School of Arts and Literature of The University of Chicago, May 1, 1893, in candidacy for the degree of Doctor of Philosophy.

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tains fewer variations than the LXX., the Peshiṭto or the Targum. Therefore, it seems that the MSS. used by the Latin translator were not much different from the MSS. underlying the present Massoretic text. The Targum Jonathan of these chapters, like all other Targumim, is full of paraphrases and interpretations. But it furnishes many important suggestions, and, in a few cases, gives a better reading than that of the Massoretic text.

The Peshiṭto of Zech. 1–8 is also useful for textual criticism. True it is that the Syriac translation is, in general, free, obscure, and inaccurate; but many of its variations are to be accepted in preference to the Massoretic text. Besides these four chief versions the Arabic version has been consulted, which differs but little from the LXX., and the valuable translations by literal Aquila, cautious Theodotion and clever Symmachus.

LITERATURE.

For the constitution of the text the following books and editions have been used and consulted:

Baer and Delitzsch's edition of the Hebrew text, Tischendorf's sixth edition of the Septuagint, and the texts of the other versions as found in the *London Polyglot*, Origen's *Hexapla*, and Stier-Theile's *Polyglot*.

Some of the works constantly consulted are:

Driver's *Notes on the Hebrew Text of the Books of Samuel.*

C. H. H. Wright's *Zechariah and his Prophecies.*

W. H. Lowe's "Zechariah" in Ellicott's *O. T. Commentary for English Readers.*

A. Köhler, *Die Weissagungen Sacharjas*, chap. 9-14, Erlangen, 1861–2.

Hitzig-Steiner's *Die zwölf Kleinen Propheten.*

T. W. Chambers' "Zechariah" in Lange's *Commentary.*

Maurer's *Commentarius in Vetus Testamentum.*

Driver's *Introduction to the Literature of the O. T.*

Keil's *Minor Prophets.*

Briggs' *Messianic Prophecy*, etc.

For the sake of convenience and simplicity, Syriac and Arabic words are written in ordinary Hebrew characters.

VARIATIONS IN GENERAL.

Variations are numerous, interesting and, in some cases, extremely peculiar. There are many cases in which the readings differ in respect to the tense of a verb. For instance, the trans-

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lators give the present tense for the past (1:6 in LXX.), the past for the future (8:3, in Vulg.), the future for the past (7:13; 8:10 in LXX.), the future for the present (1:5 in LXX.), the present for הנני with participle (8:7 in LXX.), etc. The versions present also a few changes in regard to the person and number of a verbal form; *e. g.*, plural for singular (2:17 in Targum), 3d pers. for 1st pers. (2:15 in Pesh.), 1st pers. sing. for 3d pers. plur. 8:8 in LXX.), 3d pers. plur. for 1st pers. sing. (2:15 in LXX.), etc. It may be noted also that a finite verb is given for a participle (1:8; 2:7 in LXX.), a participle for a finite verb (2:17 in Pesh.), a finite verb for an indefinite (1:14, 17; 8:21 in Pesh.) an imperative for an infinitive (3:4 in LXX.), etc.

Not infrequently the translators change the form or construction of a noun, violating etymological or syntactical principles or disregarding the sense of the passage and its relation to the context. The genitive is translated by the accusative (1:17 in LXX.), the nominative by the accusative (7:2 in LXX., Vulg., Targ., Pesh.), the accusative by the nominative (7:7 in LXX., Vulg., Pesh.), the vocative by the accusative (2:11 in LXX.), etc. The plural is given in translation for the singular in the Hebrew (4:12; 7:5 in LXX.), the absolute state for the construct state (7:9; 8:16 in LXX.), a proper noun for a common noun where it was difficult to translate (6:14 in Vulg., Targ.), a common noun for a proper noun not familiar to the translator (7:2 in LXX., Pesh.), and a proper noun for another (5:11 in LXX., Targ., Pesh.; 7:2 in LXX.). A proper noun is sometimes mistaken for a verbal form (6:10, 14 in LXX.), and in one case an untranslatable foreign word is translated, and that of course inexactly (5:6 in LXX.).

The pronoun also suffers from various changes. For instance, 2d pers. is given for 3d pers. (3:8 in Pesh.), plural for singular (5:5 in Targ.), an interrogative pronoun for another (5:5 in Targ.), etc.

In one instance a cardinal number is rendered by an ordinal (1:12 in LXX. and Vulg.) In some cases one part of speech is given for another, *e. g.*, a finite verb for a noun (1:3 in LXX.), an infinitive for a noun (4:7 in LXX.), a noun for a verb (7:3 in LXX.), etc. The form of a sentence is often

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changed, *e. g.*, the Hebrew declarative is rendered as an interrogative (1:6 in Vulg.; 8:6 in LXX., Vulg., Eng., Pesh. [?]), and *vice versa* the interrogative translated as a declarative (1:12 in Vulg.), the interrogative is turned into the imperative (1:6 in LXX.), the declarative into the imperative (6:8 in Targ.), etc.

Besides these, there are a great many more difficult and perplexing variations. The addition and omission of letters, words, phrases, and sentences is very common; and their causes are various. We find also a few inadequate substitutions, and, in some cases, unnecessary repetitions. The arrangement of letters and words is often changed, and a new construction is given. Inaccurate or free translations are occasionally given, and the readings in the original text are obscured.

All these variations may be classified in two groups: (1) *Variations due to the translators*, and (2) *variations due to the manuscripts*. In the first division, I include those additions, omissions and variations of every other kind, for which the translators are responsible; and under the second I classify those variations which existed in the MSS. used by the translators, those which are due to the condition of the MSS., and those which had their origin after the work of translation had been done; (3) *variations of doubtful origin*. In respect to some variations, I have found it extremely difficult to determine to which class they properly belong. It seems to be better to leave such variations unclassified than to attempt to theorize concerning their origin on the basis of mere conjecture. Therefore, I group them together under a third head as doubtful cases.

I.

I. VARIATIONS DUE PRESUMABLY TO THE TRANSLATORS.

1. *Variations arising from a different pointing.*—For בַּמְּצֻלָּה (1:8) LXX. seems to have read בַּמְצֻלָּה with *Dâgešh* in the ל, and renders τῶν κατασκίων. Pesh. follows this and translates דמטללין. Keil says that מְצֻלָּה is the form for "shady place." Fürst compares the word with סֻכָּה. Böttcher would read מְצַלָּה. But Baer's reading בַּמְּצֻלָּה (after Kimchi) seems to be best, and is supported by the Vulg. "in profundo."—For לְיַדּוֹת (2:4)

* Wellhausen, *Kleine Propheten*, p. 173: "Die Bedeutung des Wortes ist unbekannt."

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LXX. reads לְיָדוֹת and renders εἰς χεῖρας. This makes the passage meaningless.—לְעַבְדֵיהֶם (2:13). This reading is supported by the LXX., τοῖς δουλεύουσιν αὐτοῖς; Pesh. reads עבדידהון. But Baer gives the correct reading לְעַבְדֵיהֶם.—For אֲדֹנִי (4:13; 6:4) LXX. reads אֲדֹנָי, but the reading accepted by the Mass. Text, Vulg., Targ. and Pesh. is to be preferred.—For הַנָּזִר (7:3) LXX. reads הַנָּזִיר and gives τὸ ἁγίασμα "the holy place."—For מִשְׁפַּט (7:9; 8:16) LXX. reads מִשְׁפָּט.—For עַד אֲשֶׁר (8:20) Vulg. reads עַד אֲשֶׁר and renders "usquequo."

2. *Variations arising from a different grouping or transposition of words.*—Some of the variations in this class are intentional changes made by the translators, and a few are due to the corruption of the text. But most of them seem to be due to the careless and hasty work of the translators.

In 1:5 Pesh. connects והנבאים with the preceding sentence, and destroys the beauty of the Hebrew parallelism.—Pesh. places ויאמרו (1:11) immediately after ויענו, but the Massoretic order is to be preferred.—עוד (at the beginning of 1:17) is connected by LXX. with the preceding verse.—In 2:6, Pesh. transposes the words רחבה and ארכה, but other versions agree with the Hebrew. —Pesh. places השמן (3:2) at the beginning of the address, *i. e.*, immediately after אל השמן.—For כסף וזהב (6:11) Vulg. reads זהב וכסף.—In 8:13 Pesh. places אל תיראו at the end of the verse, and spoils the rhetorical beauty of the whole passage (8:9–13) which, in the Hebrew, ends as well as begins with the same words, תחזקנה ידיכם.—In 8:15, Vulg. transposes את ירושלם and את בית יהודה.

3. *Variations arising from ignorance, disregard, or an unsuccessful presentation of Hebrew idioms, or from a violation of Hebrew syntax.*—While some allowance must be made for the difference of idioms and syntax in different languages, one cannot overlook those variations which could have been avoided, if the translators had been more faithful to the original text.

LXX. attempts to give the force of the cognate accusative קצף . . . קצף (1:2), by rendering ὠργίσθη . . . ὀργὴν μεγάλην, which is somewhat awkward.—For ואמרת (1:3), Pesh. gives the actual impv. form אֱמֹר, and fails to present the force of the ו

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consecutive. But the Heb. is more idiomatic and therefore preferable.—LXX. renders עמד (1:8) by *εἱστήκει*, which is less vivid than the original.—For זה שבעים שנה (1:12), LXX. gives *τοῦτο ἑβδομηκοστὸν ἔτος*. Vulg. follows LXX., and translates "septuagesimus annus." But in view of Targ., Pesh., and the Heb., we must reject the LXX. reading, which does not suit the context so well.—Targ. renders ובחר (1:17) by ויתרעי. This is impossible, because the verb is not followed by the preposition ל, but by ב.—For והלבש (3:4), LXX. gives *καὶ ἐνδύσατε*, and fails to express the peculiar force of the perf. העברתי, followed by והלבש (*cf.* Harper, *Hebrew Syntax*, § 28, 4, *a*). Targ. and Pesh. present the sense of these words fairly well, though they weaken the original force. Wellhausen reads והלבשו.—For אלה שני בני היצהר העמדים (4:14) LXX. gives *οὗτοι οἱ δύο υἱοὶ τῆς πιότητος παρεστήκασι*. This rendering would be for שני בני היצהר האלה עמדים.—For באמה (5:2), LXX. has *πήχεων*, and Vulg. "cubitorum," both of which renderings fail to express the force of the preposition ב. Targ. and Pesh. omit the preposition altogether. —For יוצאות מהתיצב (6:5), LXX. gives *ἐκπορεύονται παραστῆναι*; Vulg. "egrediuntur ut stent"; Pesh. דקימן הוי. But all these versions utterly fail to give the original meaning.—For ארק צפון (6:8), LXX. gives the extremely literal translation *γῆν βοῤῥᾶ*.—עטרות (6:11), plural in form and singular in sense, is incorrectly rendered by LXX. *στεφάνους*; Vulg. "coronas"; Arab. אַכְאַלִיל. Targ. gives the compromising translation כליל רב, but Pesh. has the simple כלילא. The same word in 6:14 is again taken by Vulg. as plural, but by LXX. as singular. See Wellhausen, 179, on this verse.—In הלוא את הדברים (7:7) LXX., Vulg. and Pesh. disregard את and take הדברים as the subject of the verb "to be" understood. Wellhausen reads אלה for את. —Vulg. renders לבם (7:12) by "cor suum," failing to express the collective idea of the pron. suffix in the original.—LXX. renders עיר האמת (8:3) by *πόλις ἀληθινή* without the article. Wright translates "a city of the truth," without ascribing the absence of the article to the syntax of the construct state. But Targ. has קרתא דקושטא.—הר הקדש (8:3) is rendered by LXX. *ὄρος ἅγιον* without the article. But Targ. and Pesh. give the correct translation טורא קדישא.

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4. *Variations which may be ascribed to carelessness and inaccuracy of the translators.*—Under this division may be included many of the omissions and additions of unessential particles, conjunctions, adverbs, pronouns, etc. For instance:

The LXX. λέγει for נאם (1:3, 4, 16; 2:9, 10, 14; 3:9, 10; 5:4; 8:6, 11, 17) loses sight of the peculiar force of the original word The Targ. אֲמַר, and the Syr. אֲמַר are better.—נא (1:4) is omitted both by LXX. and by Pesh., but the general tone of such an earnest request as expressed in the passage favors its presence. For ויק (1:10; 4:5; 6:5), Pesh. gives עבא without the conjunction before it.—LXX. omits אחה (1:12) and fails to present the emphatic force in the original.—For לאמר (1:14), Pesh. gives ואמר, which, of course, is wrong. So also in 1:17.—In 2:17, Pesh. renders נעור by מתתעיר.—הנה (3:9) is omitted by LXX. —והנה (4:2) is omitted by Pesh.—In 4:6 ויק and לאמר (twice) are omitted by Pesh.—Pesh. renders ואץ (4:11, 12) without the conjunction and destroys the idiomatic Hebrew.—המריקים (4:12), which is the noun-predicate of אשר, is connected by Pesh. with צנתרות, confusing the gender. Symmachus also presents this error.—וזאת (5:7) is omitted by Pesh.—In 6:3 Vulg. read ברדים ואבוצים.*—The second לאמר in 7:3 is omitted by Pesh.—For וידי (7:13), LXX. incorrectly gives καὶ ἔσται. This error affects the LXX. translation of the following verbs.—Vulg. transposes אשר in 8:9.—From ולא נחמתי (8:14), Pesh. omits לא and renders ואהפקת. (So in London Polyglot, but Lee's edition has לא).—From וישבי עירים (8:20), Pesh. omits ו and takes ישבי עירים as appositive to עמים.—In 8:21, Pesh. seems to have read ויאמרו for לאמר.

5. *Obscure rendering and the omission of difficult words.*—In many cases, the translators attempt to give the general sense of a passage, in which they find some word or words too difficult to render literally. This brings forth an obscure and sometimes unintelligible translation. It seems to be more common to omit difficult words altogether than to give an uncertain translation of them.

Pesh. renders ההדסים (1:8) simply by אילנא, and hesitates

* On 6:3 see especially Lagarde, *Nominal-übersicht*, 29 *rm.* LXX. ψαρός, Targ. קימטן, of ashy-gray color. Aquila κάρτερος, agreeing with Hebrew; Lagarde proposes to read מאבים, "of whitish color."

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to express what kind of trees they are. See also the Syr. of 1:10, 11. LXX. translates regularly by ὄρη (*cf.* 6:1).—In 6:3, Pesh. seems to feel the difficulty connected with אמצים, and omits the word altogether. *Cf.* 6:7.—In 6:14, Vulg. renders ולחן by "et Hem," and Targ. also takes it as a proper name. But Pesh. omits the uncertain word חן, and substitutes וליושיא בר צפניא. *Cf.* v. 10.—מלך (7:2) part of a proper name, is rendered by LXX. and Pesh. as a common noun; ὁ βασιλεύς, מלכא. —ושכנתי . . . שבתי (8:3) is differently rendered by translators. Pesh. does not seem to be sure about the tense of these verbs, and avoids the difficulty by rendering both by the participles מתביא and שׁרא.—את כל אלה אשר שנאתי (8:17) is difficult in construction. LXX. renders ταῦτα πάντα ἐμίσησα, Theodotion adds ἃ before ἐμίσησα. Pesh. follows the LXX. Vulg. and Targ. have tried to translate the אשר, but have failed to give the force of את. On the other hand, LXX. and Pesh. have preserved the original construction of את כל אלה, and consequently neglected the word אשר.—The meaning of צום הרביעי וצום החמישי וצום השביעי וצום העשירי (8:19) must have been very obscure in the mind of the LXX. translator, for he renders νηστεία ἡ τετρὰς καὶ νηστεία ἡ πέμπτη, νηστεία ἡ ἑβδόμη καὶ νηστεία ἡ δεκάτη. But Aquila, Symmachus, and Theodotion understand the correct meaning, and translate rather inexactly νηστεία ἡ τοῦ τετάρτου, καὶ ἡ τοῦ πέμπτου, καὶ ἡ τοῦ ἑβδόμου, καὶ ἡ τοῦ δεκάτου.—For עד אשר (8:20), Pesh. has מכיל, but LXX. omits אשר. To avoid the difficulty, Henderson supplies יהוה between the two words.

6. *Explanatory additions.*—When the translators think the original to be too concise, too elliptical, too figurative, too obscure or too anthropomorphic, they supply some words or phrases by way of explanation.

After בחדש השמיני (1:1) Pesh. adds the phrase בחד בירחא. This seems to be quite a common phraseology of the prophets (*cf.* Ezek. 26:1; 31:1; Hag. 1:1, *et al.*), and it would not be unreasonable to suppose that the phrase may have existed in the original text. Köhler suggests that the word חדש means the day of the new moon, *i. e.*, the first day of the month. But it is doubtful that "the first day of the month" should mean more than "the beginning of the month." Therefore, the phrase seems to

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be an explanatory gloss; and even if it was in the original, we must be grateful to the editor for omitting it.—Before מעט (1:15) Targ. inserts על עמי, but this reading is not supported by other versions.—Before קרא (1:17) LXX. adds the extra sentence *καὶ εἶπε πρὸς μὲ ὁ ἄγγελος ὁ λαλῶν ἐν ἐμοί.* But this insertion seems to be out of place.—Vulgate explains זרו (2:4) by the additional phrase, "per singulos viros."—After אלו (2:8) LXX. supplies *λέγων*, which is unnecessary.—After המלאך (3:3) Pesh. adds יהוה, and makes its favorite phrase.—In 3:4, Pesh. gives מלאכא as the subject of ויען.—For בגדים (3:5) Targ. and Pesh. seem to have read either בגדים טהורים or בזדים טובים. Wellhausen, 176: bei בגדים, vermisst man das adj. "rein."—Before והזהב (4:12 end), LXX. supplies *τὰς ἐπαρυστρίδας.*—After כהן (6:13) Targ. adds רב.—For ורחוקים (6:15) LXX. has *καὶ οἱ μακρὰν ἀπ' αὐτῶν.*—בחמישי ובשביעי (7:5) is rendered by Pesh. בירחא חמישיא ושביעיא.—In 7:11 Pesh. renders להקשיב by למשמעי, which does not suit the context.—For כאשר קרא (7:13) LXX. *ὃν τρόπον εἶπε.*—For לציון (8:2) LXX. seems to have read לירושלם ולציון, and renders *τὴν Ἱερουσαλὴμ καὶ τὴν Σιών.*—Targ. interprets את ירושלם (8:15) by ליתבי ירושלם.—For עמים (8:20), LXX. reads עמים רבים.—For לבקש את יהוה (8:21, 22), LXX. gives *ἐκζητῆσαι τὸ πρόσωπον κυρίου,* and Targ. למתבע אולמן בן קדם.

7. *Double translation.*—The translator gives, side by side, different renderings of single words, when he is not quite sure of the original meaning. For example: In 1:8, for שרקים LXX. gives *καὶ ψαροὶ καὶ ποικίλοι,* which would show that the translator himself did not know the exact meaning of the word. *Cf.* 6:3.

8. *Variations arising from misunderstanding or misinterpretation of a word or passage.*—For בן עדו (1:1) LXX. gives *υἱὸν Ἀδδώ,* thus making זכריה and בן עדו stand in apposition. The translator seems to have taken Zechariah not as grandson of Iddo, as in Vulg., but simply as his descendant. So also in 1:7. Lowe, however, inclines to take the *υἱὸν* as a corruption of *υἱοῦ.*—יהוה צבאות occurs forty-four times in the first eight chapters, and eight times in the remainder of the book of Zechariah (1:3, three times, 4, 6, 12, 14, 16, 17; 2:12, 13, 15; 3:7, 9, 10; 4:6, 9; 5:4; 6:12, 15; 7:3, 4, 9, 12 twice, 13; 8:1, 2, 3, 4, 6 twice, 7, 9 twice, 11, 14 twice, 18, 19, 20, 21, 22, 23; 9:15; 10:3; 11:5; 12:2, 7;

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14:16, 21 twice). In all but three places, LXX. renders *κύριος παντοκράτωρ*, and twice *κύριος τῶν δυνάμεων* (1:9; 7:4). The Syriac translation חילחנא corresponds to the LXX. *παντοκράτωρ*. All the attempted translations fail to give the original meaning and are no better than the mere transliteration *σαβαώθ* (13:2). Vulg. gives "dominus exercituum," which is perhaps the meaning in the original.—LXX. renders יהיו (1:5) by *ζήσονται*, and this is followed by Vulg. which gives "vivent." But the context requires the present tense, which is well expressed in the Hebrew.—Vulg. takes the whole of 1:6 as a question, but LXX. changes the interrogative sentence in the verse into an imperative sentence with the verb *δέχεσθε*.—For צויתי (1:6) LXX. gives *ἐντέλλομαι* without any sufficient reason.—For וישובו (1:6) LXX. incorrectly gives *καὶ ἀπεκρίθησαν*.—אשו דעבתה (1:12) is rendered by LXX. *ἃς ὑπερεῖδες* and by Targ. טדאיתיתא עלידון לו. But Vulg. and Pesh. agree with the Hebrew.—Vulg. translates זה שבעים שנה (1:12) by "Iste iam septuagesimus annus est," and does not include the sentence in the question introduced by עד מתי.—תפוצנה (1:17) is incorrectly rendered by Pesh. נסתרקן; Targ. יתמלין; LXX. *διαχυθήσονται*; but Vulg. gives the correct translation "affluent."—Targ. fails to give the original sense of 2:11.—For הישבים (3:8) Pesh. has הלין דקיניו, which is not supported by any other version.—צמח (3:8) is certainly a difficult word. LXX. renders *Ἀνατολήν*; Vulg. "Orientem"; and Pesh. דנהא. These translators either take the word as an equivalent of Syr. צמחא, or read מזרח; *cf.* Zech. 6:12, Isa. 4:2, Jer. 23:5, 33:15. Aquil. renders the word by *ἀναφνή*, and Symm. by *βλάστημα*. The last two seem to express the original most satisfactorily.—For מפתח פְּתָחָה (3:9), LXX. gives *ὀρύσσω βόθρον*, probably reading פְּתָחָה; Aquil. *διαγλύφω ἀνοίγματα αὐτῆς*; Targ. אנא גלי חזיתהא; Pesh. בתח אנא תדעיה. None of these readings seem to be better than the Hebrew, which is followed by Vulg. and Symm.—For מטתי (3:9) LXX. gives *ψηλαφήσω*, and this is followed by Pesh.—LXX. seems to regard לבישר (4:7) as an Aramaic infinitive from the root ישר, and renders *τοῦ κατορθῶσαι*. But this word is undoubtedly a noun, as we find כנשרא in Targ. and אלא איך פקעתא in Pesh.; an imperative form of הידה has probably been omitted before לבישר.—ושמחו וראו (4:10) is rendered by Targ. ויהדי

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כד יחזי and by Pesh. ונחרון.—For האבן הבדיל (4:10) LXX. gives *τὸν λίθον τὸν κασσιτέρινον*; Aquil. *κασσιτέρου*; Symm. *τὸν κεχωρισμένον*; Theod. *ἀριθμοῦ*; Vulg. "lapidem stanneum;" Targ. אבן משקולתא; Pesh. לכאפא דפדשנא. None of these translations can express the exact meaning of the original; for, in fact the Hebrew הבדיל is almost untranslatable.—שבלי (4:12) is rendered by LXX. *κλάδοι*, and by Vulg. "spicae." The former is better than the latter.—For היצהר (4:14), LXX. gives *τῆς πιότητος*; Aquil. *στιλπνότητος*; Symm. *ἐλαίου*; Theod. *λαμπρότητος*. —LXX. takes מגלה (5:1) either as a feminine form of מַגָּל or as an equivalent of the Aramaic מגלא, and renders *δρέπανον*. In this it is followed by the Pesh., but Aquil. and Theod. render *διφθέρα*; Symm. *κεφαλίς* or *εἴλημα*. LXX. is certainly mistaken.—For ברדים אמצים (6:3) LXX. gives *ποικίλοι ψαροί*; Targ. פציחין קטמנין; Symm. and Theod. prefer *πελιδνοί* to *ποικίλοι*, but Aquil. takes the usual meaning of אמצים and renders *καρτεροί*. In 6:7 האמצים is rendered by LXX. and Targ. in the same way. But Theod. suggests *ἰσχυροί*; Aquil. offers an emendation by giving *πυῤῥοί*; but Symm. strangely gives *συνεσφιγμένοι*.—הניחו את רוחי (6:8) is taken by Targ. as an imperative sentence.—מחלדי ומאת טוביה ומאת ידעיה (6:10) is rendered by LXX. *παρὰ τῶν ἀρχόντων, καὶ παρὰ τῶν χρησίμων αὐτῆς, καὶ παρὰ τῶν ἐπεγνωκότων αὐτήν*. The translator was either ignorant that these are proper nouns, or regarded them as symbolical names. A similar case may be noted in 6:14, where לחלם ולטוביה ולידעיה is rendered by *τοῖς ὑπομένουσι καὶ τοῖς χρησίμοις αὐτῆς, καὶ τοῖς ἐπεγνωκόσιν αὐτήν*. (Codex A: *αὐτῶν*).—והוא ישא הוד (6:13) is variously rendered. LXX. translates the word הוד by *ἀρετήν*; Aquil. *ἐπιδοξότητα*; another copy *εὐπρέπειαν*; still another *δόξαν*; Vulg. "gloriam;" Targ. זין; Pesh. renders the whole sentence by והו נקבל טובחא.—LXX., Vulg., Targ. and Pesh. take בית אל (7:2) as in the accusative of direction.—For לבית (7:3) LXX. gives *ἐν τῷ οἴκῳ*.—בחמישי ובשביעי (7:5) is rendered by LXX. *ἐν ταῖς πέμπτοις ἢ ἐν ταῖς ἑβδόμαις*. But Aquil., Symm., and Theod. translate *ἐν τῷ πέμπτῳ καὶ ἐν τῷ ἑβδόμῳ*. The latter is the correct rendering.—For ארץ חמדה (7:14), LXX. incorrectly gives *γῆν ἐκλεκτήν*. שבתי . . . . ושכנתי (8:3); Vulg. attaches two different tenses to these verbs, and translates "reversus sum . . . . et habitabo." Pesh. avoids the difficulty by

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rendering both by participles. Wright regards the first verb as a present-perfect, and the second as a present. But this does not suit the context so well as the LXX. *καὶ ἐπιστρέψω . . . . καὶ κατασκηνώσω*, which Targ. practically follows, by rendering אתוב ואשרי שכנתי . . . .—Targ. renders ברחבתיה (8:5) by בפתהא in order to distinguish the word from רחבות at the beginning of the verse.—The second half of 8:6 is taken interrogatively by LXX., Vulg., Targ., and uncertain in Pesh. Hitzig, Köhler and others object to it.—מושיע (8:7) is rendered by LXX. *σώζω*, but by Vulg. "salvabo." The latter seems to be the meaning in the original.—לעם . . . . לאלהים (8:8) is rendered by Vulg. "in populum . . . . in Deum." This literal and unintelligible rendering shows that the translator did not understand the meaning of the passage.—For להבנות (8:9) LXX. gives *ἀφ' οὗ ᾠκοδόμηται*. From this, Hitzig concludes that LXX. read מהבנות. Hitzig does not seem to have read the LXX. translation of the entire verse very carefully.—מן הצר (8:10) is understood by Vulg. and Targ. to mean "on account of the affliction," but Pesh. gives the correct translation, מן קדם אלוצא.—זרע השלום (8:12) is rendered by Targ. זרעא ידי שלם, and by Pesh. זרעא נהוא בשלמא. But the Vulg. translation "semen pacis erit" seems to be best.—For ברכה (8:13) LXX. gives *ἐν εὐλογίᾳ* and weakens the sense of the original.

9. *Free translation or paraphrase.*—This is very common, as every biblical student knows, in Targ. and Pesh. The variations in this class may be divided into two groups.

(*a*) Cases in which the original sense is fairly presented.

For קצתם . . . . קצתם (1:2), Targ. gives דארגיזו על הודרגז . . . . קדמודי.—For ואשוב אליכם (1:3) Targ. has ואתפני בגיגרי בגיגרי.—For לא הקשיבו אלי (1:4), LXX. gives *οὐ προσέσχον τοῦ εἰσακοῦσαί μου*, and Targ. לא אצייתו למימרי. They seem simply to have paraphrased the same Hebrew text.—Pesh. paraphrases the whole of 1:5 as follows: איכא אנון אבהי כון ונביי דלמא לעלם יתבא שלוא.—חיין ישבת ושקטת (1:11) is rendered by Targ. ושקיטא.—For פרשתי (2:10) LXX. has *συνάξω*. The meanings of the words are opposite to each other. But this is a clear case of paraphrase, because the scattering of the people from Babylon is practically the same as the gathering of them into Jerusalem. One

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would expect something like קבצתי (Wellhausen, *loc. cit.*, 175).—LXX. paraphrases מחלצות (3:4) by *ποδήρη*.—For על ראשה (4:2), LXX. gives *ἐπάνω αὐτῆς*. (It is equivalent to the preceding עליה, Wellhausen, 177).—For ברוחי (4:6) Targ. has במימרי.—Targ. takes הר הגדול (4:7) as referred to Rome, and gives a very full paraphrase of the whole verse.—For האיפה (5:6), LXX. gives *τὸ μέτρον*, and Vulg. "amphora," both of which are inferior to Symmachus' transliteration *οἰφί*.—For הנזר (7:3), Vulg. gives "vel sanctificare me debeo," and Targ. האמנע נפשי מתפנוקין.—For זה כמה שנים (7:3) LXX. gives *ἤδη ἱκανὰ ἔτη*.—For ולבם שמו שמיר (7:12), Vulg. has "et cor suum posuerunt ut adamantem."—For על כל הגוים (7:14) Targ. gives ביני עממיא.—LXX. renders אל תיראו (8:13) by *θαρσεῖτε*, which is less exact than the Vulg. "nolite timere." *Cf.* 8:15.—For אלה הדברים אשר תעשו (8:16) Pesh. gives the free translation הלין פתגמא עבדו.

(*b*) Cases in which the original sense is missed.

Targ. paraphrases the second half of 1:5 as follows: ואם תימרון נבייא לא לעלמא קימין. But this does not agree with the context.—For הוי הוי ונסו (2:10), Targ. gives the paraphrase, אכלו למבדריא ואמרו להון אתכנשו מארעא . . . This is so different from the Hebrew that I am inclined to regard it as a Targumic paraphrase of a different reading. At any rate, the reading is not in harmony with the remainder of the paragraph. In vv. 11–13, 14–16, 17, the commands are first given in the imperative form, and then followed by the reasons or grounds thereof, introduced by כי. Why should not v. 10 also have the same formula, seeing that its second half is a causal clause introduced by כי? It is true that אכלו introduces an imperative sentence, but it is not part of the divine message, which begins with אתכנשו.—For מניף את ידי (2:13) Targ. gives מרים ית הין(3:3) Targ. has היה לבש בגדים צואים. מחת גבורתי.—For בני היצהר ליה בנין דנסבין להון נשין דלא כשרן לכהונתא.—For בני רברביא (4:14) Targ. gives בני רבריא.—Targ. seems to disregard the suffix in עינם (5:6) and paraphrases אנון גלן קדם.—The Targumic paraphrase of v. 7 is extremely free.—For הניחו את רוחי (6:8), Targ. gives אמר להון עבידו ית רעותי. Wellhausen, 179: one would expect the imperfect יניחו.—For ומיתחתיו יצמח (6:12) Targ. gives the strange paraphrase, עתיד דיתגלי ויתרבי.

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—For הלא אתם האכלים ואתם חשתים (7:6) Targ. has הלא לאיטבא לכון אתון שתן. This rendering is inferior to the elliptical construction in the original, and is favored by no other versions. —ואיש משענתו בידו מרב ימים (8:4) is incorrectly rendered by Targ. וגבר טבדודי תקניא יגנון עלודי מסגי יומיא.—Targ. wrongly renders part of 8:6 by כד תיקר דחלתי בעיני שארא דעמא הדין ביומיא חאנון אף קדמי ייקרון.

10. *Interpretation rather than translation.*—For במצלה (1:8) Targ. gives בבבל, comparing "the shady valley" with Babylon.—טובים (1:13) is rendered by Targ. תקנין.—Targ. renders עירי (1:17) by קרוי עמי.—For קרנות (2:1) Targ. gives מלכון, which seems to be an interpretation, though the translator may have read מלכיות.—For כל דשר (2:17) Targ. gives כל רשיעיא, which cannot be accepted.—Targ. interprets צמח (3:8) by משיחא.—For זאת האיפה (5:6) Targ. has אלין עמא דהוו נסבין ויהבין במכילתא דשקרא.—For ארו שנער (5:11), LXX. gives γῆ Βαβυλῶνος; Targ. מדינת בבל; and Pesh. ארעא דבביל.—In the place of העטרת (6:14) Targ. has תשבחתא.—For בכסלו (7:1), Pesh. gives דהו כנון, which is no better than a mere transliteration as given in LXX., Vulg. and Arabic.—For הצום צמתני אני (7:5) Targ. has הצום תעני אתון מתענין קדמי.—Pesh. interprets גר ועני (7:10) by ולמסכנא ולדמתפנא לותי.—For ולבם שמו שמיר (7:12), LXX. gives καὶ τὴν καρδίαν αὐτῶν ἔταξαν ἀπειθῆ. —הדברים (7:12) is rendered by Pesh. פוקדנא.—For כאשר קרא (7:13), Targ. gives כמא דאתנביאו להון נבייא.—עצומים (8:22) is rendered by LXX. πολλά, and by Targ. רבבין.

11. *The translators change the text*, so as to avoid difficulties, or to suit their own interpretation.

For הלוא (1:6), LXX. seems to have read אשר, or omitted the word altogether.—For ושכנתי (2:15), Pesh. evidently read ושכן. But LXX. has καὶ κατασκηνώσουσιν, which does not suit the context very well.—הס (2:17) is taken by Targ. as plural.—LXX. omits ואמר (3:5), taking the last part of the preceding verse, as well as the first sentence of this verse, as Jahveh's address to the angel attendants. But this omission is quite inconsistent with the LXX. translation of the preceding verse. Wellhausen, 176, adopts reading of the LXX. (שימו).—For הדמה (3:8), Pesh. evidently read אתם.—For תאנה . . . גפן (3:10)

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Targ. read תאנו . . . גפנו, but this rendering weakens the figure in the original, which is a characteristic feature of Messianic speech (*cf.* Mic. 4:4).—For ביד (4:12) LXX. has *ἐν ταῖς χερσί*.—In 5:5, Targ. read מי for מה, and האלה for הזאת.—Pesh. omits ובנה את היכל יהוה (6:12), supposing, probably, that the copyist added here by mistake the first part of the following verse. But LXX. seems to regard ובנה את היכל יהוה והוא in 6:13 as an unnecessary repetition of the last sentence of the preceding verse, and omits it altogether. I think the LXX. reading is more plausible than the Syriac.—For ורגם (7:2) Pesh. has ושלח.—For הנבאים (7:3), Targ. gives ספריא.—For אל תחשבו בלבבכם (7:10), Vulg. has "non cogitet in corde suo," but the Heb. is more idiomatic and is supported by LXX., Targ., Pesh., and partly the Arabic.—For כאשר קרא (7:13), Pesh. gives על דקריית אנון. This reading is very smooth and seems to be correct.—משחקים (8:5) is rendered by Targ. משבחין (*cf.* 2 Sam. 6:5). For ברחבותיה (8:5), some Greek manuscripts of LXX. are based on the reading ברחבותיהם.—For ושכני (8:8) LXX. reads ושכנתי.—LXX. renders העם הזה (8:12) by *τοῦ λαοῦ μου τούτου*, which is not correct, containing an addition.—In 8:15, LXX. adds *καὶ* before זממתי, because the translator read חשבתי for שבתי.—For ומבפס שלום (8:16), Pesh. gives ודינא ושלמא.

II.

VARIATIONS DUE PRESUMABLY TO THE MSS.

1. *Errors made by the copyists of the versions.*—In this class I include those errors which are due not to the original Hebrew text, or to the translators, but to the copyists of the text of a translation.

(*a*) Addition: For ויתנו (7:11), Vulg. has "et averterunt," which seems to be, as Wright suggests, a mistake of the copyists for "et verterunt."

(*b*) Omission: For מבוא השמש (8:7), some Codd. of the LXX. have simply *δυσμῶν*, but others add *ἡλίου*.—In 8:13, LXX. has *ὁ οἶκος Ἰούδα καὶ οἶκος Ἰσραήλ*. The omission of the article before the second *οἶκος* is to be taken as a copyist's error.

(*c*) Repetition: For התורה (7:12), LXX. has *τοῦ νόμου μου*. The *μου* seems to be a repetition by mistake of the latter part of the preceding word, *νόμου*.

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(*d*) Alteration: For הלוא השיגו (1:6), LXX. gives *οἳ κατελάβοσαν*. But it seems to be a corruption of *οὐ κατελάβοσαν*.

2. *Errors due to the condition of the texts used by the translators.*—That the texts used by the translators were in quite bad condition is evident from the existence of those peculiar variations which could not have arisen, if the writing had been clear, full, and exact. Some of the causes of these variations are:

(*a*) Omission of the final ם. "According to Lagarde, the three letters ה, מ, ת, when occurring at the end of a word, were not written in the MSS. used by LXX., but represented by the mark of abbreviation (ʼ) which already appears on Hebrew coins." (Driver's *The Books of Samuel*, Introd., p. lxix). In my examination of Zech. 1–8, I have found at least one variation due to the omission of the final ם.—For ערי מטוב (1:17) LXX. and Pesh. read עריִם מטוב, and Targ. ערי עמי טוב. It is possible that the מ of מטוב originally belonged to ערי, but it is more probable that the final ם was omitted, as usual, in the original MSS.; and LXX. and Pesh. seem to present the correct reading.

(*b*) Confusion of consonants. Considering the condition of the ancient MSS. used by the translators, and also their method of translation, it is not at all improbable that some consonants were confounded with others. In some cases the confusion seems to have arisen from a similarity in form, and in others, from a similarity in sound.

For להחריד (2:4) LXX. reads להחדיד and renders *τοῦ ὀξῦναι*. Schleusner thought that the LXX. translation has simply given the sense of the passage. But Vulg., Targ., and Pesh., though they do not give exact equivalents of the word, seem to have intended to translate להחריד, which is certainly the correct reading.—The confusion of ה with ה is quite common. In 2:6, LXX. fails to give the suffix of ארכה. In 3:9, פתחה is rendered by LXX. without the suffix. In 4:2, LXX. and Pesh. again omit the suffix from גלה. In 4:11, LXX. and Targ. do not give the suffix of שמאולה. Again in 5:2, LXX. omits the suffix from ארכה . . . ורחבה. There is one case in which ה is taken for ה, viz: in 4:3, LXX. reads הגלה for הגלה. Wellhausen, 177: "for מימין הגלה read מימינה, the suffix referring to

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המגורה; *cf.* 11; הגלה is a false paraphrase."—For פרזות (2:8), LXX. reads פריות, and renders κατακάρπως; Symmachus ἀταχίστως; Theodotion εἰς πλατός. But Vulg., Targ., and Pesh. agree with the Hebrew. Also see Wellhausen, *Kleine Propheten*, 175.—For כארבע רוחות (2:10), LXX. reads מארבע רוחות. Several MSS. and Vulg. read בארבע. This reading seems to be better than the Hebrew, because ארבע רוחות simply means "the four directions," and not the actual "winds." Wright, however, does not believe בארבע to have been the reading of Vulg. or Pesh., and holds that the latter, at least, has probably read לארבע. The reading of an original MS. כ for מ (both being very much alike; see Riehm-Baethgen, *Handwörterbuch*, article "Schrift") is very common. Mention may be made here of Hos. 9:7; Amos 5:8, 17; Mic. 1:2; Zech. 2:10; 6:14. This explains satisfactorily the LXX. translation ἐξ (= מ) for Heb. כ. Wellhausen, *loc. cit.* 175, says: "One would expect something like מארבע."—For הס (2:17), LXX. has εὐλαβείσθω; Pesh. ונדחל, and Targ. ספו. These translators seem to have read חת.—For the second וגם (3:7), LXX. reads ואם.—For נקה (5:3), Targ. gives לקי, which has perhaps, as Wright suggests, arisen from the confusion of נקה with נכה.—For עינם (5:6), LXX. reads עונם and renders ἡ ἀδικία αὐτῶν. Wellhausen, 178, follows LXX. and in addition omits as a gloss ריאמר זאת האיפה היוצאת. Pesh. seems to follow LXX., and gives חובא. Symmachus' suggestion πρὸς τοῦτο ἀποβλέπουσι is certainly based upon the Heb. עינם, but it is not an exact translation.—LXX. renders נהיה (8:10) by ἔσται, probably reading יהיה. Lowe thinks, however, that the LXX. translator read נהיה as an Aramaic future. At any rate, the verb should be taken as a past, as in Vulg., Pesh., and in some MSS. of the LXX.

(*c*) Corruption of the Text. Though the confusion of consonants is, in a sense, due to the corruption of the text, yet, under this special heading, I include those strange and remarkable variations which compel me to ascribe them to the fact that the original text was very badly corrupted and obscure.

For השיגו (1:6), Pesh. gives אתדכרו. Perhaps the text was corrupt, but it is possible that the translator read השימו.—For השאננים (1:15), Vulg. has "opulentas;" Targ. דשרן שלוא; Pesh.

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דמית־נשין; the English Version (both A. and R.) follows the Targ. But LXX. gives the correct rendering, *τὰ συνεπιτιθέμενα*, which seems to be for הנשאים, as Schleusner well suggested.* —For יצא (2:7, after בי), LXX. seems to have read נצב and renders *εἱστήκει*. But the Heb. is to be preferred, because it suits the context better.†—LXX. renders the second half of 2:12 by *διότι ὁ ἁπτόμενος ὑμῶν ὡς ὁ ἁπτόμενος τῆς κόρης τοῦ ὀφθαλμοῦ αὐτοῦ*, as if the text had read כנגע . . . . . בבבת. This is followed by Targ. But Vulg. and Pesh. give faithful translations of the more vivid original Hebrew.—For ונלוו (2:15), LXX. incorrectly reads ונסו, and renders *καταφεύξονται*.—For ממעון (2:17), LXX. gives *ἐκ νεφελῶν*, and Pesh. מרומא. It is probable that the former read מענן(מ), and the latter ממעלה.—For ישימו (3:5), LXX. has *ἐπίθετε*.—מהלכים (3:7), a very difficult word, is rendered by LXX. *ἀναστρεφομένους*, by Vulg. "ambulantes," and by Pesh. מהלכין. Hitzig's objection to Gesenius' interpretation of the word does not prove that the form is an Aramaic hiph. participle from הלך. Wellhausen, 176: מהלכים muss die Bedeutung "Zutritt" haben; *cf.* Jer. 30:21.—For האבן הראשה (4:7), LXX. probably reads האבן ירושה, as Schleusner supposed, and renders *τὸν λίθον τῆς κληρονομίας*. Vulg. translates "lapidem primarium," and Pesh. also has כאפא ריש̈יתא. הראשה is rendered by Aquila *τὸν πρωτεύοντα*, by Symmachus *τὸν ἄκρον*, and by Theodotion *τὸν πρῶτον*. Targ. gives the interpretation, ית משיחיה דאמיר שמיה מלקדמין. Weighing all these translations, we must reject the LXX. reading and adopt the Heb. as the original, though it is very difficult.—תשאות חן חן לה (4:7) is also very difficult. LXX. seems to have derived the word תשאות from שוה, and renders *ἰσότητα χάριτος χάριτα αὐτῆς*. This is followed by Aquila's *ἐξισώσει χάριτος*, and the Vulg. "exaequabit gratiam gratiae eius." Symmachus gives *πρὸς χάριν αὐτῆς*; Theodotion offers *κατάπαυσις, κατάπαυσις αὐτῇ*; Pesh. has דשויותא ודרחמא. These translations sufficiently testify to the helpless corruption of the Hebrew text. Wellhausen: "Der Sinn der letzten Worte des Verses lässt sich nur muthmassen."—LXX. renders משוטטים (4:10) by *οἱ ἐπιβλέποντες*, and this is followed by the Syriac חירן. But better is the Vulg. "discurrunt," which is adopted in the English Version.

* See, however, Wellhausen, *loc. cit.* 174, and Isa. 37:29.

† Wellhausen, *loc. cit.* 174, suggests עמד (*cf.* 3:5).

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—For מעלידם (4:12), LXX. seems to have read מעלים.—For כמוה (5:3), LXX. reads either למות or כמות, and renders ἕως θανάτου. This, however, may be due to the omission of the final ה in the original MSS. Tischendorf's text omits the second כמוה. Vulg. has "sicut ibi scriptum est" for the first מזה כמוה, and "ex hoc similiter" for the second. Wellhausen: probably read מזה כמה (= صنى) "since how long."—For על כסאו (6:13), LXX. gives (καὶ ἔσται ἱερεὺς) ἐκ δεξιῶν αὐτοῦ. Wellhausen, 179, proposes to read מימינו.—For האבכה (7:3), LXX. seems to have read בא כה, as Wright suggests, and renders εἰσελήλυθεν ὧδε.—For שבתי זממתי (8:15), LXX. gives παρατέταγμαι καὶ διανενόημαι. Wright's suggestion that the translator read חשבתי is plausible.—בשעריכם (8:16) is supported by all versions but Targ., which seems to have read בעיריכם, and renders בקריכון. —For וישבי ערים (8:20), Vulg. reads וישבו בערים and renders "et habitent in civitatibus."

3. *Recensional variations.*—These are the variations which can be best explained by supposing the translators to have used MSS. more or less different from the MSS. on which our Massoretic text is based. Some of the variations in this class are to be preferred to the Massoretic text, while others should be rejected. We note the following:

(*a*) Errors made by the copyists of the Hebrew text. These are the deviations from the correct Hebrew text, which are solely due to the copyists of the Hebrew text, and which were adopted by the translators. (α) *Addition:* For אל תהיו (1:4) LXX. reads ואל תהיו.—For יהוה (1:13, 16; 8:17) LXX. reads יהוה צבאות, Pesh. following LXX. in 1:16 and 8:17.—For ביתי (1:16) LXX. reads וביתי.—After ואמר (1:6) LXX. adds πρὸς αὐτὸν, and is followed by Pesh. But other similar passages favor the Hebrew reading. (β) *Omission:* From לעבדיהם (2:13) Pesh. omits ל.—In 4:2, the *Kᵉthîbh* ויאמר must be a copyist's error (Wellhausen, 141). The *Qᵉrê* suits the context better, and is found in many MSS., LXX., Itala, Vulg., Targ. and Pesh. —From ויזעק אתי (6:8) LXX. omits אתי, and in this is followed by Pesh.—For באו (6:10) LXX., Pesh. and Targ. (in *London Polyglot*) read בא.—From 6:12, LXX. and Pesh. omit לאמר in both cases.—צבאות (7:4) is omitted in some Codd., Targ. and

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Pesh.—(γ) *Repetition:* For שבעה ושבעה (4:2) LXX. and Vulg. read simply שבעה. We are either to take these words distributively, or perhaps better to regard the second as a mere repetition by mistake of the first (so Hitzig, Ewald, Henderson). Köhler and Wright conjecture that there are two sets of seven pipes each. Briggs favors this view. But this interpretation does not seem to be more natural than to regard the second שבעה as a copyist's error. (Wellhausen, 176–7).—(δ) *Explanatory* or *marginal glosses*, which crept into the text: For לדריוש (1:1) Vulg. reads לדריוש המלך, as in Hag. 1:1 and 15.—After צויתי (1:6) LXX. adds ἐν πνεύματί μου. This may have been copied from 7:12.—After את הודה (2:4) LXX. adds καὶ τὸν Ἰσραὴλ κατέαξαν.—After ולמיודים טובים (8:19) LXX. gives καὶ εὐφρανθήσεσθε. —(ε) *Changes made by the copyists* to avoid difficulties or ambiguities: For אתנו (1:6) some Codd. and Theodotion have ὑμῖν.—For בין ההדסים (1:8) LXX. seems to have read * בין ההרים and renders ἀνὰ μέσον τῶν δύο ὀρέων; and in this is followed by the Arabic. Hitzig thinks that the LXX. translator may have read ההדורים.—For הוי ציון (2:11) LXX. has εἰς Σιών, which does not suit the context. Lowe, however, compares this with a similar mistake in Ezek. 21:15.—For אתך (3:4) LXX. has αὐτόν. Wellhausen, 176, proposes to read אתו.—For נרתיה (4:2) LXX. reads נרות.—For וידעת (4:9) some Codd., Vulg., Targ. and Pesh. read וידעתם (plur.; so Wellhausen, 177).—For וזאת (5:7) LXX. has ἰδού, and Vulg. "ecce"; Wellhausen, 178, adopts והנה from LXX. text, or simply ו.—For עמכם (8:23) LXX. reads עמך in both cases. Some copies have μετὰ σοῦ for the first, and μετὰ ὑμῶν for the second, and Pesh. is like this. But Vulg. and Targ. support the Hebrew.—(ζ) *Changes which cannot be easily accounted for:* For ובהר (2:16) Targ. gives ויתרעי and Pesh. ונצטבא.—For ויקשו ללכת (6:7) LXX. gives καὶ ἐπέβλεπον τοῦ πορεύεσθαι, and other copies καὶ ἐζήτουν, καὶ ἐπέβλεπον τοῦ πορεύεσθαι. It is possible that the translator read ויבקרו.—For זרע השלום (8:12) LXX. seems to have had a different text, and gives ἢ δείξω εἰρήνην. Wellhausen, 181, reads: כי אזרע השלום.—For והלכו יושבי אחת אל אחת (8:21) LXX. gives the strange translation καὶ συνελεύσονται κατοικοῦντες πέντε πόλεις εἰς πόλιν μίαν. But other copies have κατοικοῦντες μίαν εἰς μίαν.

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(*b*) The original readings preserved in the ancient MSS. used by the translators. All the recensional variations are not corruptions and incorrect readings, but some of them are to be preferred to the Massoretic text, and seem to be the original readings. We mention the following:

In 1:8, Pesh. correctly omits והנה.—Before שרקים (1:8) LXX. and Pesh. have the conjunction ו.—For ויאמר אלי המלאך (1:9) Pesh. gives ואמר לי ועגא מלאכא דמתמלל בי. This is perhaps to be preferred, in view of the similar formulae in this paragraph (1:10, 11, 12, 13).—For בארץ (1:11) LXX. reads בכל הארץ.—In 1:13, LXX. adds ו before דברים נחמים.—In 2:2 LXX. and Pesh. read מה אלה אדני.—In 2:4, LXX. omits לאמר and gives πρός μέ instead. This reading agrees with the form of the similar passages in 1:9; 2:2, 6, 8, etc., and is probably correct.—For לידות (2:4) Targ. seems to have read לזרות and renders לבזבר. This suits the context remarkably well, and even adds a rhetorical force, and therefore I am inclined to take it as the original reading.—From ונסו (2:10) LXX., Vulg., and Pesh. omit the conjunction ו.—For לי (2:15) LXX. and Pesh. read לו.—In 3:1, LXX. and Vulg. read ויראני יהוה.—For ויאמר יהוה (3:2) Pesh. read ויאמר מלאך יהוה (*cf.* Wellhausen, *loc. cit.*, 175).—For ענך (3:4) LXX. reads עוניך. Wellhausen considers ויאמר אליו ענך .... as a parenthetical insertion.—For אליכם (4:9) LXX. reads אליך. This suits the context well, and seems to be the correct reading, though all the other ancient versions favor the Hebrew.—For בית אל (7:2) LXX. Targ., Pesh. and Baer read ביתאל as one word.—Before גר (7:10) LXX., Vulg. and Targ. add the conjunction ו.—Before לאמר (8:1) many Codd. and Pesh. read אלי. In spite of the objection of the Massorah this seems to be the correct reading in view of 4:8; 6:9; 7:4, 8.

III.

VARIATIONS OF DOUBTFUL ORIGIN.

While there are not a few doubtful cases among the variations which have thus far been discussed, it is even more true of the variations under this special heading, variations which are extremely difficult to explain. Their origin may be accounted for as:

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1. *Recensional, or a change made by the translator.* For instance:

In 2:4, את קרנות הגוים is rendered by LXX. τὰ τέσσαρα κέρατα. The Hebrew is to be preferred.—For רגם (7:2), part of a proper name, LXX. has Ἀρβεσεσέρ.

2. *Recensional, or due to the carelessness on the part of the translator.* Note the following examples:

For יהורה (2:4) LXX. reads יהודה.—For בת ציון (2:14) Targ. reads בית ציון, and renders כנשתא דציון. The translator, however, may have been misled by the usual *scriptio defectiva* in the original MSS.

3. *Recensional, or misinterpretation of the translator.* Thus:

For ואמר (3:5) Vulg. and Pesh. read ויאמר, and, as the result, the former gives the duplicate statement that Joshua was clothed with new garments, and both present an unpleasantly abrupt change from the direct imperative הסירו to the indirect jussive ישימו. It is best to follow the Heb. and Targ., and read ואמר, because it suits the context best and also strengthens the contrast between צניף and בגדים.—For הנגב (7:7) LXX. gives ἡ ὀρεινή; Pesh. seems to follow LXX. and renders טורא.

4. *Due to the corruption of the text, or an intentional change made by the translator.* So we have:

In 1:6, LXX. has an additional word δέχεσθε, which is probably for קחו, as has been suggested; and this reading may have arisen from some confusion connected with the word חקי.—For גוים (8:22) Targ. has מלכין. The translator may have given his interpretation of the original.

5. *Recensional, or due to the condition of the text:*

For הנבאים (1:5) Pesh. read נביאי. The absence of the final ם in the original text may have misled the Syriac translator to read ינביאי for הנבאי.—For ויטובו (1:6) Pesh. has ואתרעיו.—For ונחם (1:7) Pesh. gives ויבנא.—In 2:9, Pesh omits לה and gives בגוה in its place.

GENERAL OBSERVATIONS.

It is undoubtedly true that some of the explanations offered in this thesis are far from satisfactory. But, taking it for granted that most of them are correct or probable, it may not be uninter-

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esting to observe some of the characteristic variations in the different versions. Most of the variations in the tense of a verb are found in LXX. The changes from one part of speech into another are found only in LXX. and Pesh. Variations due to a different pointing are characteristic of LXX., but those due to a different grouping of words are rare outside of Pesh. LXX. has many additions, but Pesh. has only a few, and Vulg. none. Omissions are most numerous in Pesh., and half as many in LXX., but very rare in Vulg. and Targ. Variations arising from a violation of the principles of Hebrew syntax are found almost exclusively in LXX. Some explanatory glosses are given in Targ. and Pesh., but more in LXX. Obscure rendering is a characteristic of Pesh., and too literal translation is common in LXX. Paraphrase and interpretation are abundant in Targ., but most of the strange, inexplicable variations are found in LXX. Misinterpretations are quite numerous in all versions, but original readings are preserved more in LXX. and Pesh. than in the other versions.

EMENDATIONS OF THE MASSORETIC TEXT ON THE BASIS OF THE ANCIENT MANUSCRIPTS AND VERSIONS.

1: 8. Omit והנה with Pesh. and read ושרקים following LXX. and Pesh.
9. Read ויען המלאך הדבר בי ויאמר אלי with Pesh.
11. Read בכל הארץ, following LXX.
13. Read ודברים נחמים with LXX.
15. Read הנשאים with LXX. (but LXX. *συνεπιτιθεμένα*) and see Wellhausen, *Kleine Propheten*, 174.
17. Read ערים with LXX.
2: 2. Read מה אלה אדני, following LXX. and Pesh.
4. Read אלי for לאמר, following LXX.; and לזרות for לירות, following Targ.
10. Omit the conjunction ו from ונסו, (so also Wellhausen, *loc. cit.*, 175) following LXX., Vulg. and Pesh.; and read בארבע with several MSS., Vulg. and Pesh.
15. Read לו for לי, following LXX. and Pesh.
3: 1. Insert יהוה after ויוראני, following LXX. and Vulg.
2. Read ויאמר מלאך יהוה with Pesh.
4. Read עוניך, following LXX. (so Wellhausen, 175).
4: 2. Read ואמר with the *Qerê*; and omit ושבעה.
9. Read אליך with LXX.

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5: 9. Read בכנפידך, following one of Baer's MSS.
10. Read הנה for המה, following two MSS.
6: 6. Read יְצֵאוּ with Ewald. Wright's objection to this emendation is not conclusive.
10. Read ובאת טובה with Baer, following some ancient Hebrew and Greek MSS.
13. Omit והוא יבנה את היכל יהוה, following LXX.
7: 2. Read ביתאל (so Baer-Delitzsch) as one word, following LXX., Targ. and Pesh.
10. Read וגר with LXX., Vulg. and Targ.
13. Read כאשר קראתי, following Pesh.
8: 1. Insert אלי before לאמר, following many Codd. and Pesh.
9. Omit ההיכל with Hitzig.

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NOTES ON SEMITIC GRAMMAR.

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II.

THE FEMININE ENDING *T* IN HEBREW.

In the current Hebrew grammars (Olshausen, § 109; Bickell-Curtiss, § 92; Stade, § 308; Gesenius-Kautzsch, 25th ed., § 80, 2b) we are informed that feminine nouns in Hebrew, so far as the gender is indicated by a distinct formative element, end either in AT or simple T, *e. g.*, חָכְמָה construct state חָכְמַת = ḥakam + at, אַיֶלֶת cstr. אַיֶלֶת = 'aỹal + t. Whatever the mutual relation of the two terminations may be, namely, whether T be a modification ("eine Abart") of AT or not, it is acceded that both stand on an equal footing, and that they existed alongside of each other in the earliest speech of the Hebrews: the one is vocalic and accented, the other consonantal and unaccented. We are then told that the toneless termination is "especially frequent with participles and infinitives" and that the cstr. st. and the forms with suffixes show a predilection for the shorter accretion, *e. g.*, יֹלֶדֶת Jer. 22:23 and יֹלֶדֶת *ibid.* 31:8, cstr. יֹלֶדֶת *ibid.* 15:9, with suff. יוֹלַדְתָּהּ Prov. 23:25, יוֹלַדְתּוֹ *ibid.* 17:25, יוֹלַדְתָּהּ Cant. 6:9, יוֹלַדְתְּכֶם Jer. 50:12. The plural, they tell us, is formed from the longer ending, even where the latter does not happen to be found in the Old Testament literature (*e. g.*, מְיַלֶּדֶת Ex. 1:19, pl. מְיַלְּדוֹת *ibid.* from *מְיַלֶּדֶת).

I ask myself the following question: Why is it that, while we find חָכְמָה 2 Sam. 20:16, cstr. חָכְמַת Ex. 35:25, and עֲקֵרָה Deut. 7:14, cstr. עֲקֶרֶת Ps. 113:9, with suff. צִדְקָתִי Gen. 30:33 (from צְדָקָה *ibid.* 15:6) and בְּהֶמְתְּךָ Ex. 20:10 (from בְּהֵמָה *ibid.* 20:13, cstr. בְּהֶמַת Deut. 28:26), we have no choice in the case of forms *like* יָלְדָה, אַיָלָה, מַמְלָכָה which have in the const. st. almost invariably יֶלֶדֶת, אַיֶלֶת, מַמְלֶכֶת, and forms like *יָלְדָתוֹ, אַיַלְתּוֹ,

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מַמְלְכָתוֹ would be regarded by any Hebraist as ungrammatical? The *obligatory* use of יֹלַדְתּוֹ, etc., forms, it seems to me, cannot be *accidental.*

I turn to Aramaic and find there not only an analogous phenomenon, but I think also the key to an adequate solution of the problem.

THE ARAMAIC SYSTEM OF NOMINAL INFLECTION

appears to me simple and consistent throughout.

I group Aramaic nouns as (1) *bi-*, (2) *tri-*, (3) *pluriliteral.*

BILITERALS.

The general type of a biliteral noun is c v c, *i. e.*, so far as the stem is concerned, the noun consists of two consonants and one intervening vowel. The latter may be short or long; the second consonant simple or doubled. Examples of a long vowel followed by a doubled consonant are wanting, in fact impossible from a Semitic point of view (*cf.* Bickell-Curtiss, § 38; עָלִּין Dan. 4:5; 5:8 Qẹrē for עללין = עָלֲלִין, עלין Deut. 4:5 quoted by Dalman, *Grammatik des jüdisch-palästinischen Aramäisch*, 274, ܥܠܝܢ Noeldeke, *Syrische Grammatik*, § 178 B, are only seeming exceptions which will find an explanation below, p. 208, 24). Hence we find the following three types: (*a*) c v c, (*b*) c v̄ c, (*c*) c v c̆. These are at the same time the forms of the absol. and cstr. st. sing., only that in the third case, since the second consonant is vowelless, its doubling is only potential, not actual. *E. g.*,

I. *a.* בַּר ܒܪ *b.* נוּר ܢܘܪ *c.* לֵב ܠܒ

All the other forms in the inflection are derived from I. by inflectional accretions or by the addition of an element the complete union of which with the stem is marked by the presence after the final radical of a *full* or *reduced* vowel (*e. g.*, נוּרָא Dan. 3:6, רוּחֵהּ 5:20, כָּלְהוֹן 2:38 = kol̆ẹhōn).

This fact itself requires an explanation, *i. e.*, it must be understood as the result of a certain principle. The following observations are intended to show that the latter cannot be *formative*, but must be *phonetic.*

The Arabic system of nominal inflection, notably in its case endings, the inflectional differentiation of the two states, the

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formation of the *pluralis sanus*, the manner in which the pronominal suffixes are appended, is claimed by some scholars to be identical with the Protosemitic system, while according to others it is an expansion thereof. The question is certainly an open one. But even admitting the view mentioned in the second place to be the correct one, we may safely take the Arabic system as an index to the more ancient method. Leaving aside roots terminating in a semivowel (where, however, the changes effected in the stem are due to the nature of the latter and not to the inflectional elements *per se*), we may observe that (except in some cases to be mentioned soon) the inflectional accretions leave the nominal stem in its original form. This is best seen in the forms with suffixes. يَدَهُ = يَدَ + هُ, يَدَيْكُمْ = يَدَيْ + كُمْ. The final stem (or case) vowel always remains; it may even influence the character of the vowel contained in the pronominal element (ـِهِ for ـُهُ, when preceded by *i*); only once it is seemingly influenced by the consonant with which the suffix commences (ـَـى, *i. e.*, ـَـى in all three cases; which simply means that the genitive has here taken the place of the other cases). Thus the nominal stem (including its final vowel) suffers no change throughout the inflection, *i. e.*, the principle of inflection is not *phonetic*, but *formative*. To take the forms with suffixes, it can be shown that the same method of appending them to the stem is applied both in Aramaic and Arabic. Compare יְדֵיכוֹן = כוֹן + יְדֵי and אֲבוּהוֹן = הוֹן + אֲבוּ Dalman, 160, 157, with يَدَيْكُمْ, أَبُوهُمْ. The suffixes in רוּחֵהּ (see above) = rūḥihī, יְדֵהוֹם Ezr. 5:8 = yidahum are exactly the same as in رُوحِهِ, يَدَهُمْ. Thus the *formative* principle is the identical one in both examples: hence the preservation of the final stem-vowel in one and its partial loss in the other must be explained on *purely phonetic* grounds.

The fact before us is that a Semitic (Arabic) vowel in the same position is retained in the Aramaic in one form and wholly or partly dropped in another. It is well known that Arabic *long* vowels remain in Aramaic, *cf.*, *e. g.*, وَاثِب = יְתֵיב Dalman, 256 = مُثْبِت. Only *short* vowels are subject to total or partial decay,

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cf. وَاتِبِينَ = יָתְבִין Ezr. 4:17 = ܝܬܒܝܢ. What are then the conditions which render this decay possible, often necessary? *Syllabic* conditions, in the first place. Short vowels in closed syllables remain, *cf.* مَرْكَبٌ, מַרְכְּבָא Dalman, 133. It is only in open syllables that a short vowel *may* be reduced or else disappear entirely. A second factor is apparently required to determine whether a short vowel in an open syllable *shall* remain or not. This factor, it seems to me, is *accentual.* A comparison of Arabic كَاتِبِينَ with Bibl. Aram. כָּתְבִין (יָתְבִין), Targūmic כָּתְבִין (שָׁטְפִין, Merx, *Chrestomathia*, 109, 3) and modern Arabic kātẹbīn (Spitta, § 70 *b*) on the one hand and Syriac ܟܬܒܝܢ (this the ordinary form; occasional forms like ܦܠܓܝܢ occur, Noeldeke, *loc. cit.*, 16, footnote) on the other should teach us, in the first place, that, before a vowel is allowed to disappear entirely, it passes through a stage at which it is articulated unemphatically, indistinctly (*is reduced*, we say), and, secondly, that the cause of this unemphatic articulation is *absence of stress.* In وَاتِبِينَ the word-accent falls on the penult (Caspari-Mueller, 5th ed., § 30); modern Arabic kātẹbīn (Spitta, § 25 *a*, 1) indeed points to just such an accentuation; hence the (main) accent in יָתְבִין stands presumably where it stood originally. Spitta (§ 24) informs us that in reading Arabic we ought to pay attention also to secondary accents; יָתְבִין *has* a secondary accent (on the first syllable). We may at once infer that Arabic وَاتِبِينَ should be properly pronounced with two stresses, wā́tibī́na (leaving it for the present undecided as to which of the two was originally the principal accent); this was certainly the *Aramaic* pronunciation of the word. The syllable TI was thus never accented in Aramaic, and consequently its vowel liable to a less emphatic articulation. A short [Semitic, Arabic] vowel in an open syllable, we can speak now with precision, will remain in Aramaic if stressed, but will be slurred or passed over rapidly and eventually cease to be articulated altogether if unaccented. We may point to similar facts in other languages. *Cf.* in Greek ἐπτόμην by the side of πέτομαι, ἔδρακον || δέρκομαι, πατρῶν || πατέρες (Brugmann, "Griechische Grammatik" [in

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Iwan Müller's *Handbuch der klassischen Altertums-Wissenschaft*, II., 2d ed.], § 24: "*die Tiefstufenformen* waren durch Vokalreduktion infolge der Hochtonigkeit der folgenden Silbe entsprungen"); in Latin VALDE by the side of VALIDUS, FERCULUM || FERICULUM, AGMEN || *AGIMEN, PROPTER || *PROPITER (Stolz-Schmalz, "Lateinische Grammatik" [*ibid.*], § 74). In our own language the initial *a* in "América" is in familiar speech seldom given its full sound; I should transcribe it by ֲ, were I to use a Hebrew symbol; note the full sound which the accented *a* has in the word "Itálian" and its indistinctness when unaccented, as in the word "Ítaly."

רוּחֵהּ, so much we can see now, kept a full vowel after the second radical because that vowel was the bearer of an accent, while in כֻּלְּהוֹן the vowel in the same position was reduced because it was not accented. But what were the principles of Early Aramaic accentuation? How, in the first place, shall we get at them? By induction, I answer with Lagarde (*Übersicht über die . . . Bildung der Nomina*, 153, 4 *sqq.*). The nominal forms with which we are concerned at present offer the following suggestions:

1. רוּחֵהּ = rūḥihi = rūḥihī (*cf.* אֲבוּהִי Dan. 5:2) and its like compared with כֻּלְּהוֹן = kullihum remind us on the one hand that in the suffixes we possess originally self-existent words which, in order to give up their independent existence, had first to lose that which marks the separate existence of a word, *i. e.*, stress, and be reduced to the level of enclitics (*cf.* ὁ πατήρ μου), and on the other that, when stronger motives came into play, however close the union may have been between the dominant noun and the pronominal element, the tendency towards enclisis was overcome and the suffix kept its own accent, though it may have been subordinate to the main accent within the nominal stem. It seems that all the suffixes except those which at present terminate in a consonant consisted originally of one (open) syllable with (probably) a long vowel; while ـهِمْ, ـهِنَّ, ـهُمْ, ـهُنَّ (*cf.* Arabic ـهِمُ, ـهِنَّ, ـهُمُ, ـهُنَّ and occasional forms in Hebrew, as, *e.g.*, גְּוִיֹּתֵיהֶנָּה Ezek. 1:11, זְמַחְכֶנָּה *ibid.* 23:48,49, כְּסֹתֵיכֶנָּה *ibid.* 13:20) point to an originally dissyllabic form. The changes

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which the two kinds of suffixes undergo in the various dialects (with the monosyllabic suffixes shortening of the vowel, *rūḥihi, *cf.* רُوحِهِ, its subsequent disappearance, רוּחֵהּ, and, in Talmūdic and Mandaic, dropping of the initial breathing, *cf.* Noeldeke, *Mandäische Grammatik*, 68 *sq.*; with the dissyllabic suffixes loss of the final vowel, כֻּלְּהוֹן, and, only in Talmūdic, disappearance of the second consonant, *cf.* Noeldeke, *loc. cit.* 180, note 1) prove that in Early Aramaic the open suffixes (those consisting of an open syllable) were enclitics, while the closed ones had at least a weak, subordinate stress.

2. The length or duration of a syllable seems to have mainly determined the position of the accent in Early Aramaic. The Aramaic accentuation was therefore *rhythmic* or *quantitative.* בְּנִינַ = בִּנִינַ, רُוחِينَ = רُوحِينَ, יَדָּא = יَדָּא (the pausal of יَדَّا, Vernier, I., § 127), נُورָא = נُورًا prove the following to have been the rules of Early Aramaic accentuation (of nouns):

I. Of two syllables of equal duration (open syll. with a short vowel = open syll. with a short vowel; open syll. with a long vowel = open syll. with a long vowel = closed syll. with a short vowel; c v = c v; c v̄ = c v̄ = c v c) the first was accented. Hence נُورًا = nū́rā.

II. Of two syllables of unequal duration (c v < c v̄ = c v c) the longer syll. was stressed. Hence יَدָּא = יَدًا = yadā́.

III. The distance between two full stresses in one word had to amount to one syllable, and to one syllable only. Hence בְּנִינַ = banī́na, רُوحِينَ = rūḥī́na.

3. It follows from the very nature and meaning of the term "enclisis," and for words consisting of two syllables (in addition to the enclitic element) also from Rule III., that the syllable immediately preceding the suffix must be the bearer of an accent. Hence בֵּהּ Dan. 3:7 = bíhī, יְדֵהּ *ibid.* 4:32 = yadíhī, רוּחֵהּ = rūḥíhī. From Rule II. we may learn to understand לְהֹם Ezr. 5:3 as lahúm; while Rule III. again teaches that יְדֵהֹם will have been pronounced yídahúm, כֻּלְּהוֹן—kúllahúm.

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4. In the case of two *long* syllables preceding the enclitic, it seems to me that the main accent rested on the first, while the second (the one immediately preceding the suffix) was the bearer of a secondary accent thrown upon it by the enclitic, the enclitic accent, we may say for short. Thus ܕܝܢܝܟ = dī́naìka. Similarly dīnīna will have been pronounced dī́nìna, and dīnā—dī́nà. In the subsequent development of the language (*e. g.*, Bibl. Aram.) the main and secondary accents change places. Hence the accentuation רוּחֵהּ, רוּחָא, עִירִין = rū̀ḥíh, rū̀ḥā́, ʿìrī́n. (A similar process has taken place in modern Arabic with reference to the classical language; Spitta, § 24.) A slight stress will have been given to the middle syllable in ܕܝܢܝܟܘܢ; in this word as well as in כָּלְהוֹן the first of the two full stresses was probably originally the stronger accent, here also, it seems, the reverse of the later usage.

The derived forms (above, p. 198, 26–30) thus group themselves under two heads:

II.	*a.*	בְּרֵהּ ܒܪܟ	*b.*	נוּרָא ܢܘܪܟ	*c.*	לִבִּי ܠܒܟ
III.		יֶדְהֹם ܒܪܟܘܢ		רֵאשְׁהוֹן ܢܘܪܟܘܢ		כָּלְהוֹן ܠܒܟܘܢ

NOTE.—Syriac ܒܪܝ for בְּרִי Dalman, 158, teaches us that, where the vowel of the accretion was dropped, the stem-vowel was bound to reappear in its fullness. It goes without saying that for a long vowel to be dropped, it had first to go through a process of shortening; *cf.* indeed رَبِّ for رَبِّي (Caspari, § 315, rem. *b*). Similarly a short vowel in an inflectional accretion would remain, as long as it was followed by a consonant, and would be dropped only when it lost its consonantal companion. יַד Dan. 5:5 as a construct state form is at once intelligible, *cf.* يَدُ = yádu (Accent Rule I.). יַד as an absol. st. form is derivable from يَدٌ only through يَدُ. يَدُ is a possible absol. st. form; it is the usual form in poetry or rhymed prose in the rhyme (Vernier, I., § 126); the next step is يَدْ, the usual pausal form (*ibid.*). Hence יַד as an absol. st. form is properly a pausal form. יַד in

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its origin is perfectly analogous to יֶדְהֹם: the stem-vowel reappears in both, in the one through the reduction of the case-vowel, in the other through its total disappearance. Hence I. is a special case of III.: the principle is the same.—In II. it may also happen that the reduced (stem-) vowel is lost completely. By the side of ܫܡܳܐ we find ܐܶܫܬܳܐ (Noeldeke, *Syr.*, § 146), אדמא, אדמיה (Dalman, 161). Arabic اِبْنٌ, اِسْتٌ, اِسْمٌ become now intelligible, and it requires but little effort to identify ܐܶܝܕܳܐ Noeldeke, *ibid.* אידא Dalman, 160, with *اِيدٌ = modern Arabic īd (Noeldeke, *Mand.*, 97).

FEMININE NOUNS.—It will be easily seen that, in the inflection of feminines of this class, the absol. and cstr. st. forms follow II., *e. g.*, שְׁנַת ܫܢܳܐ = سَنَةٌ = sanátu; שָׁעָה ܫܳܥܳܐ; מִלָּה ܡܶܠܬܳܐ. So also all forms in the plural, inasmuch as the second radical is followed by a full vowel (the long vowel of the plural endings ān, āt): ܫܢܳܐ, ܫܢܳܬܳܐ, ܫܢܳܬܳܐ, etc. The emphatic st. sing. and all forms of the sing. with suffixes which have a full vowel after the ܬ (*i. e.*, all forms with open suffixes) come evidently under III. Hence:

III. *a.* אַמְתָא ܐܰܡܬܳܐ *b.* עָקְתָא ܫܳܥܬܳܐ *c.* מִלְּתָה ܡܶܠܬܳܐ

In all the examples given under III. (here and above) the vowel following the second radical, as may be seen from the rukāk in Syriac and the indispensable mèteg (Stade, § 52 *a*) in Bibl. Aram. (רֵאשְׁהוֹן Kautzsch, § 9, rem. 4 *c*; עקתא = עָקְתָא Dalman, 55 *sq.*) is not wholly lost. Elsewhere its articulation may be dispensed with entirely, *e. g.*, ܫܰܢܬܳܐ = שַׁתָּא Dalman, 161; בִּירְתָּא Ezr. 6:2, ed. Baer (the mèteg serves here the same purpose as in שָׁת־לִי Stade, § 52 *b*; Kautzsch, *ibid.*, speaks of an "abnormity"!) or, since in Semitic a long vowel was not tolerated in a closed syllable (above, p. 198, 16), with shortened stem-vowel שַׁעְתָּא Dan. 3:6 in the common editt., for which שַׁעֲתָא ed. Baer is a variant analogous to מַחֲשַׁכִּים in Hebrew, Ps. 88:7, from the sing. מַחְשָׁךְ Isa. 29:15; in the case of *c* the total loss of the final stem-vowel would render the doubling of the second radical impossible and reduce the form to the level of one of type *a* (*cf.* Mandaic גיזתא Noeldeke, 103, inferring the pronunciation from the spelling). Interesting is the reverse. To prevent the total loss of the final

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stem-vowel in forms of type *a*, they are raised to such of type *c*, *i. e.*, the second radical is artificially doubled or, as we would say in Hebrew grammar, takes the dageš *forte dirimens:* ܡܰܕܕܶܢ Merx, *Grammatica Syriaca*, 61 = שִׁנְּתָא Merx, *Chrestomathia Targumica*, 62, 7, note 8 = ܣܢܵܐ.

There remain yet those forms in the sing. which have a reduced vowel *after* the T (*i. e.*, the forms with closed suffixes). Then in *b* and *c* (according to Accent Rule III.) the vowel *before* it *remains*, *e. g.*, ܫܡܰܥ̣ܬ̣ܟ̣ܘܿܢ, ܫܡܰܥ̣ܬ̣ܟ̣ܘܿܢ Noeldeke, *Syr.*, 81 *sq.* Otherwise the doubling of the second radical could not be expressed, and the long vowel would not receive its due and full articulation, *cf.*, *e. g.*, ܫܡܰܥ̣ܬ̣ܟ̣ܘܿܢ, *i. e.*, צְוִיתְהוֹן (*cf.* above), but correctly ܫܡܰܥ̣ܬ̣ܟ̣ܘܿܢ Noeldeke, *ibid.* 81. In *a* we have from the very beginning two possible forms: ܫܡܰܥ̣ܬ̣ܟ̣ܘܿܢ (in old Syriac poems; ـَـ = ـَّـ) = ḥimátakúm, or ܫܡܥ̣ܬ̣ܟ̣ܘܿܢ (the rukkāk apparently due to analogy, *cf.* ܫܡܥ̣ܬ̣ܘܿܢ) Noeldeke, *ibid.* 82, = ḥímteḳúm = ḥímatakúm. Both do justice to Rule III. The latter form—ܫܡܥ̣ܬ̣ܟ̣ܘܿܢ—is equally built and accented as ܢܦ̣ܫ̣ܟ̣ܘܿܢ. Note ܫܡܰܢ̣ܬ̣ܟ̣ܘܿܢ Noeldeke, *ibid.*, with n̄. Thus we obtain:

IV. *a.* ܫܡܰܥ̣ܬ̣ܟ̣ܘܿܢ / ܫܡܥ̣ܬ̣ܟ̣ܘܿܢ *b.* ܫܡܰܥ̣ܬ̣ܟ̣ܘܿܢ / צְוִיתְכוֹן *c.* ܫܡܰܥ̣ܬ̣ܟ̣ܘܿܢ

NOTE.—It will be seen that the shortening of the stem-vowel in שִׁעְתָּא (above, p. 204, 28) first originated in שַׁעְתְּכוֹן for *שָׁעְתְּכוֹן and was thence transferred to other forms where of itself it was not necessary. For *שָׁעְתְּכוֹן is unpronounceable, but שִׁעְתָּא certainly admits of being pronounced, although שִׁעְתָּא is a more convenient form.—The cstr. st. שְׁנַת Dan. 7:1 comes properly under IV., *cf.* שִׁנְתְּכוֹן (‖ ܫܡܰܥ̣ܬ̣ܟ̣ܘܿܢ); here, owing to the total disappearance of the case-vowel, no alternative was possible. ܫܢ̣ܬ̣ is formed directly from ܫܢ̣ܬ̣ܟ̣ܘܿܢ Noeldeke, 83.

In order to inflect a biliteral noun in Aramaic, the beginner will learn the four forms given above:

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I. *a.*	صَمْ	*b.* نُوْرْ	*c.* كَبْ
II.	صَوْمْ	نُوْرْ	كَبْدْ
III.	صَوْمَا , أَصْمَا	سَاعَتَا , مُدَّا	مَلْكَا
	صَوْمِ	بِيرْتָא	
IV.	صَوْمِي , سَعْدَمِي	سَاعَتِكُنْ , مُدَّمِي	مَلْكَمِي
	صَوْمِ , سَعْدَ	צְוִירְתְּכוֹן	

Note *ad* II. *a* أَصْمَا; *ad* III. *b* سَاعَتָא—a back-formation from سَاعَتְכוֹן.

If we reconstruct the oldest inflection of biliteral nouns in Aramaic, we obtain the following table (by omitting בִּירְתָּא and צְוִירְתְּכוֹן as inconsistent with the Semitic phonetic law referred to above (p. 204, 27), and as coming from a time when the quantitative distinction of vowels was no longer felt):

I. *a.*	اِسْتَا أَصْمَا يَدَا يَדָא	*b.* نُوْرَا	*c.* كَبَّا
II.	سَنَتَا سَاعَتَا أُمَتَا أَصْمَا	مُدَّا	مِلَّتَا مَلْكَا
	يَدْ יַד	نُوْرْ	كَبْ لُبْ
IV.	سَاعَتَكُمْ مُدَّمِي	سَعْدَمِي	مِلَّتَكُمْ مَلْكَمِي
	سَاعَةْ مُدَّ	أُمَةْ سَعْدَ	

Note سَاعَةْ = سَاعَهْ مُدَّا pausal form of سَاعَةْ Vernier, I., § 129

TRILITERALS.

The general type of a triliteral noun is c v c v c (the number of vowels follows from the Semitic laws of syllabication: 1. All syllables begin in a consonant, and in one consonant only—c c v c impossible; 2. A syllable may end in a consonant, but in one consonant only—c v c c impossible). The middle consonant may be simple or doubled: c v c v c or c v c̄ v c. The vowels may be both short or both long, or one short and the other long: c v c v c, c v̄ c v̄ c, c v̄ c v c, c v c v̄ c. For purposes of inflection (since a vowel preceding a doubled consonant is immutable) c v c̄ v c will come under the class c v̄ c v̄ c or c v̄ c v c according as the second vowel is long or short.

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FIRST CLASS: c v c v c:

I.	ܩܛܠ			עֶבֶד	
II.	ܫܢܐ	דַּהֲבָא	ܩܛܘܠ	מַלְכָּא	מַלְכִּין
III.	ܩܛܦܢ	אֲבִיהֶם		מַלְכְּכוֹן	אַרְעָדוֹן
	ܟܬܒܬ	נִשְׁבִּיתָךְ		נַחֲלָה	כִּסְאֲהוֹן
IV.		נִכְסַתְהוֹן		ܐܦܥܠ (=	ܐܒܕ)

NOTES.—II. In Bibl. Aram. the following may be observed: with all such nouns as retain in Hebrew their dissyllabic character, the third radical, if one of the letters בגדכפת, is aspirated, *i. e.*, to use a term current in some Hebrew grammars, the first syllable is loosely closed; while with nouns corresponding to Hebrew monosyllables ("segolates") it is firmly closed. This distinction disappears in the plural where the first syllable is always loosely closed. The larger meaning of this statement I hope to set forth in a future paper on "The Hebrew-Aramaic Plural." In Syriac the first syllable is firmly closed in the sing. and plur. of both classes of nouns. Traces of the older (=Bibl. Aram.) method are still discernible in Syriac, inasmuch as occasional examples of aspiration are limited in the case of the "segolates" to the plural, while with other nouns of the triliteral class they are also found in the sing., *e. g.*, ܟܘܦܐ pl. ܟܘܦܝ (Heb. אֶלֶף), ܟܣܦܐ (עֶקֶב) Noeldeke, 58 *sq.*—III. In addition to the methods given in the table, Syriac and Targūmic present a third possibility. I refer to forms like ܢܣܟܬܗ, ܫܡܥܬܗ, ܫܡܘܥܗ, ܐܘܕܥܗ, etc., *i. e.*, ܢܣܟܬܗ, ܫܡܥܬܗ, etc., with the ܡܫܡܫܢܐ (Duval, *Grammaire Syriaque*, 125 *sqq.*; Merx, *Syr.*, 76 *sqq.*), אוֹרַחְכוֹן Dalman, 164. This proves that at a later epoch the first syllable came to be considered as originally closed, on a line with the first syllable in words like מִנְחָה, and its vowel as immutable, so that, in order to facilitate the pronunciation, it was found necessary to insert a vowel most probably resembling the preceding vowel, though much influenced by the character of the consonant immediately following it. ܐܢܫ Noeldeke, 62, is a direct descendant of אוֹרַחְכוֹן. As no one will contend that ܐܢܫ is a "Hebraism," we may take מֶלֶךְ Dan. 2:10, חֵלֶם *ibid.* 4:2, אֶבֶן, צֶלֶם, צִיר, שִׁיבֹלֶת (Merx, *Chrest.*, *cf.* the

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glossary) as good Aramaic forms, descendants of *מַלְכֹן, etc., exactly as מַלְפֹן, in its turn, gave rise to מַלְכָּא. From a comparison of ܡܠܟܐ with ܡܠܟܢ, of ܫܡܐ with ܫܡܝ, it would follow that, in the older method, the reappearing vowel was indeed the original vowel (the second vowel of the stem). How far this inference is true, when all examples are collected, remains to be seen. At any rate I. is no more than a special case of III.—It will be readily seen that the principles of Early Aramaic accentuation as stated above with reference to biliteral nouns are here equally at work, and that I.–III. here exactly correspond to II.–IV. there (above, p. 206, 1–6). In IV. we have an increment of one syllable; the accentuation is in full accord with the rules laid down above.

SECOND CLASS: c v̄ c v̄ c [c v̆ c̄ v c]. There is nothing of importance to be said of this class, inasmuch as long [immutable] vowels suffer no visible change on account of the shifting of the accent.

THIRD CLASS: c v̄ c v c [c v̆ c̄ v c]:

I.	ܟܠܡ	עָלַם	עָבֵד	ܐܢܐ	אַדַּר
II.	ܟܠܡܐ	עָלְמָא	עָבְדָא	ܐܢܝ	אַדְּרִי
III.	ܟܠܡܢ	אַחְכֹּן	ܥܒܕܘ		יִקְדְּתָא
IV.	ܟܠܡܘܢ				

NOTES.—I. עָבֵד compared with עָבֵד shows the force of the long vowel (I. here also a special case of III!).—II. עָבְדָא! Observe the mèteg! Syriac ܟܠܡܐ is on a line with ܟܠܡܘܢ and must be judged accordingly; it also explains the forms mentioned above (p. 198, 20).—III. The Syriac forms are instructive. *No choice allowed as in the first class!*—IV. The form ܟܠܡܘܢ is certainly a possible form, though the one given in the table seems to have been preferred on account of its greater ease.

FOURTH CLASS: c v c v̄ c:

I.	ܥܕܪ	שְׁלָם	אַדְרַע		
II.	ܥܕܪܐ	יְקָרָא	אִמְּנָא	עַמִּירָתָא	
III.	ܥܕܪܘ	שְׁלָמְכֹן	ܐܡܡܢܐ	ܥܒܝܕܬܐ	עֲבִידְתָּא
IV.	ܥܕܪܘܢ				

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NOTES.—I. The long vowel draws everywhere the accent upon itself (Accent Rule II.).—III. Contrast שְׁלָמְכוֹן with עֲבִידְתָּא and observe how the latter could readily pass into עֲבִדְתָּא, *i. e.*, a form analogous to ܛܦܢܬܐ (First Class, III.).—IV. ܟܢܘܫܬܟܘܢ is on a line with ܟܢܘܫܬܐ, עֲבִידְתָּא. ܟܢܘܫܬܟܘܢ would be the correct form. The last two observations apply also to nouns of the second class.

The PLURILITERALS follow the principles laid down for the bi- and triliterals. It all depends on the quantity of the last vowel. The following table may serve as an illustration:

I.		פַּרְזֶל	ܫܠܡܠܡ	
II.	ܦܪܙܠܐ	פַּרְזְלָא	ܫܠܡܠܡܐ	ܫܪܩܪܩܐ
III.	ܩܪܩܦܬܐ	ܐܪܡܠܬܐ	נֶבְרַשְׁתָּא	ܦܪܣܪܘܣܬܐ
IV.		ܐܪܡܠܬܗܘܢ		

It remains to be said that the preceding classification has no reference to the formation or derivation of the nouns to be inflected. For purposes of inflection, יוֹם and בֵּית are biliterals (type *b*), גַּף and עֵז equally biliterals (type *c*); ܝܘܡܐ, בַּיְתָא, ܒܝܬܐ belong to the first class of triliterals, מַתְּנָה to the third and מְדָר to the fourth, while מִשְׁכַּן, מַעֲבָד, נִדְבָּךְ, דָּכְרָן, etc., are regarded as quadriliterals.

Roots with a semivowel as third radical require a few additional remarks.

FIRST CLASS.—To ܟܬܦܐ correspond forms like חֶזְוָא Dan. 2:19, חֶזְוָא Dalman, 109, גַּדְיָא *ibid.*, ܛܠܝܐ Noeldeke, 85, etc.; to ܛܢܦܬܐ—חֵיוְתָא Dan. 4:11, אַלְיְתָא Dalman, *ibid.*, ܚܕܘܬܐ Noeldeke, 61; to ܕܚܠܬܐ—ܚܕܘܬܐ, ܪܢܝܬܐ = rínītá, ܚܕܝܬܗܘܢ Noeldeke, 26, and, owing to the long vowel which draws the accent upon itself, ܒܪܝܬܐ *ibid.* 61. As *חֵזוּכוֹן is the prototype of חֵיזוּ Dalman, *ibid.*, so does גדי, *i. e.*, גְּדִי, presuppose *גְּדִיכוֹן. חֵיזוּ and גְּדִי are perfectly analogous to צֵילֶם and מֶלֶךְ in their origin. ܥܒܕ corresponds to עֲבֵד. *Cf.* also ܚܕܘܬܟܘܢ with נִכְסַתְהוֹן; רְעוּתְהוֹן for *רַעֲוַתְהוֹן, *cf.* רַעֲוָא, is formed by analogy from רְעוּתָא, hence also רְעוּת for *רַעֲוַת, *cf.* עֶרְיַת, Dalman, 110.

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THIRD CLASS.—Compare with עָבֵד—גָּלֵא Dan. 2:22, with עָבְדָא—דָּמְיָה *ibid.* 7:5, with יָקִדְתָּא—רָעִיתָא Dalman, 120.

NOTE.—ܡܢܘܬ = manawat is inflected like ܓܙܪ in the singular; the plural manawāt is not pronounced ܡܢܘܬ, *cf.* First Class, II., but ܡܢܘܬ with w̄; in Bibl. Aram. and Targūmic we find even כְּנָוָת, עֲלָוָן. It seems that the plural goes back to a parallel form with ā in the second syllable, *cf.* سَمَاءٌ pl. سَمَاوَاةٌ. Still we find ܒܥܘܢ, etc.—Note also ܒܥܘܬ, a direct descendant of ܒܥܘܬܟܘܢ.

The principle of Aramaic nominal inflection, as distinct from Arabic or Protosemitic, is *phonetic* throughout and mainly due to the rules which we laid down above as governing Early Aramaic accentuation. If we glance once more at our inflectional tables, we may observe that the vowel of the feminine ending (A) remains or disappears in accordance with those rules of accentuation, just as any other vowel (a case- or stem-vowel) would in identical circumstances. *Cf.*

שְׁנַת ‖ ܒܪܢ ‖ ܟܬܦ שְׁנַתְכוֹן *or* ܫܢܬܟܘܢ ‖ ܐܬܪܟܘܢ *or* ܟܬܦܟܘܢ

ܐܡܬܐ *or* ܫܢܬܐ ‖ ܫܢܬܐ *or* ܟܬܦܐ מַלְכָּא

ܫܥܬ ‖ ܢܘܪܢ ‖ ܝܬܒ שָׁעַתְכוֹן [שַׁעְתְּכוֹן] ‖ ܝܬܒܬܐ ‖ ܝܬܒܟܘܢ

ܫܥܬܐ [שַׁעְתָּא] ‖ ܝܬܒܐ

ܡܠܟ ‖ ܠܟܝ ‖ ܐܕܪ ܡܠܟܟܘܢ ‖ ܐܕܪܟܘܢ

ܐܕܪܐ ‖ ܡܠܟܐ

נִשְׁמַת ‖ ܐܡܬܐ ‖ ܫܢܬܝ *or* מַלְכַּת ‖ ܫܢܬܝ ‖ ܡܠܟܝ

ܟܬܒܬ ‖ ܫܥܬܝ ‖ ܟܬܒܬ

נִשְׁמַתְכוֹן *or* מַלְכַּתְכוֹן ‖ ܦܪܙܠܟܘܢ *or* ܢܫܡܬܟܘܢ, מְלֶכְתְּכוֹן

כָּתְבַתְכוֹן *or* ܟܬܒܬܟܘܢ

נִשְׁמְתָא ܢܫܡܬܐ ‖ ܦܪܙܠܐ *or* ܢܫܡܬܐ, ܟܬܒܬܐ

ܐܟܠܬܐ, יָקִדְתָּא

עֲבִידַת, עֲבִידַתְכוֹן [עֲבִידְתְּכוֹן], עֲבִידְתָּא [עֲבִידְתָּא] ‖ ܫܠܡܝ, —, שְׁלָמְכוֹן

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From the foregoing parallels we learn that, in Aramaic, the vowel of the feminine ending (A)

1. is *necessarily reduced*, if followed immediately by a stressed vowel;

2. *may disappear*, though separated from the next stressed vowel by a full measure as prescribed by Rule III., if the preceding syllable have room for the vowelless consonant, *i. e.*, end in a short vowel;

3. *must remain*, if the preceding syllable end in a long vowel and the next following vowel lack stress; so also in the construct state irrespective of the quantity of the preceding vowel.—The following are (*a*) *necessary*, (*b*) *possible* Early Aramaic forms:

(*a*) שַׁעְתָּא, מִלְּתָא, אִמְּתָא, עֲבִידְתָּא, נִשְׁמַתָּא *or* נִשְׁמְתָא, יְלִידְתָּא
שַׁעְתַּכוֹן, מִלְּתְכוֹן, עֲבִידַתְכוֹן
שָׁעַת, מִלַּת, אֲמַת, עֲבִידַת, נִשְׁמַת

(*b*) *a.* יְלִידְתְכוֹן ‖ יְלִידַתְכוֹן, נִשְׁמִתְכוֹן ‖ נִשְׁמַתְכוֹן, אֲמִתְכוֹן ‖ אַמַתְכוֹן
β. אַמְתָא, נִשְׁמְתָא, יְלִידְתָא
[*a.* שַׁעְתְכוֹן, *β.* שַׁעְתָא].

THE FEMININE ENDING IN ARAMAIC.

The result of our investigation goes to show that the Aramaic feminine ending as taken over from Semitic speech was AT, the vowel being occasionally reduced in accordance with the laws of Early Aramaic accentuation, and eventually allowed to disappear entirely, provided no phonetic difficulty stood in the way, and even then not necessarily. There is no trace in Aramaic of a consonantal feminine termination T.

OUR PROBLEM ANSWERED ON ARAMAIC GROUND.

Forms like נִשְׁמְתִי ‖ נִשְׁמַתִי on the one hand, and יְלִידְתִי, שִׁבְלְתִי, תַּחֲנוּנְתִי on the other correspond to Hebrew בְּהֶמְתִי ‖ צִדְקָתִי and יְלִדְתִי, אֵילְתִי, מַמְלַכְתִי. The Aramaic forms are at once intelligible: נִשְׁמַתִי is a *possible*, מַמְלַכְתִי a *necessary* form. For נִשְׁמְתִי by the side of the former is certainly a possible form; while *מַמְלְכְתִי is unpronounceable. In Aramaic we are able to

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state with precision *when* and *why* forms like מַמְלַכְתִּי become necessary. In all forms with the syllable next to the one preceding the vowel of the feminine ending being open with a long vowel or closed with a short vowel, and the T followed by a stressed vowel (in an open suffix *e. g.*), the last stem-vowel *must* be retained. The reason is obvious: a syllable of the kind just mentioned—c v̄, c v c—has no room for another consonant; and since the A of the ending, immediately preceding the stressed syllable, must, in accordance with the laws of Early Aramaic accentuation, be reduced, the preceding stem-vowel, in accordance with the same laws, must remain. Remove one of the two conditions, and the obligation will cease: נְשַׁמְתָּא and יָלְדְתְּכוֹן are *possible*, not *necessary* forms. Lengthen the vowel of the feminine ending (in the plural), and you are again limited to one form (with the second vowel of the stem reduced irrespective of the character of the first syllable): נִשְׁמָתִי, יָלְדָתִי are *necessary* forms.

The problem propounded above (p. 197) finds an adequate solution on Aramaic ground, ultimately in the laws of Early Aramaic accentuation. The presumption forces itself upon us that the Hebrew phenomenon will have to be understood as the resultant of the identical factors. It is with the aid of the Aramaic that we are led to an observation which an induction of all examples verifies, that the necessary retention of the second stem-vowel in nouns like מַמְלַכְתִּי, etc., is bound up with the character of the first syllable (c v̄ or c v c). So far Hebrew agrees with Aramaic (as it also does in the plural, *cf.* מַמְלְכָתִי ‖ מַמְלְכֹתַי). This necessity is unintelligible on Hebrew inflectional grounds. *מַמְלְכָתִי (sing.) is certainly pronounceable. Whence the necessity of saying in Hebrew מַמְלַכְתִּי, and nothing but מַמְלַכְתִּי? We answer: The proper form corresponding to עֲטַרְתִּי in Hebrew also is not עַטְרָתִי (*cf.* צִדְקָתִי), but עַטְרְתִי (*i. e.*, צִדְקְתִי); hence מַמְלַכְתִּי the only possible form, for *מַמְלְכָתִי was out of question and *מַמְלְכְתִי unpronounceable.

Have we more than presumptive grounds for this statement of ours which will seem rather startling to many a Hebraist? Yes, we have.

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THE ARAMAIC METHOD IN HEBREW NOMINAL INFLECTION.

A superficial glance at the Hebrew method of nominal inflection will bring to light two distinct methods. To take one of the most prominent distinctive features, some Hebrew nouns have a separate form for the absolute state, while others have not and use their construct state form also for the absolute; *cf. e. g.* לֵבָב cstr. לְבַב and דִּבַשׁ cstr. דִּבַשׁ. Let us agree to call the latter method the Aramaic one (in the same sense as we call verbal forms like יִסַּב 1 Sam. 17:30, וַיִּסַּב Ex. 13:18, וַיִּפְחוּ Deut. 1:44, תְּוֹגִיוּן Job 19:2, הֲמַכִּי *ibid.* 24:24, נְחַלְתִּי Ezek. 22:16 over against יָסָב, וַיָּסֶב, וַיָּכֻתוּ, תּוֹגִיוּן [*cf.* נָקִים = יִם + נְקִי], הֲמַכְּתִּי, נְחַלְתִּי, *cf.* נַסֵּן, נַסָּן, נַסְּכִין, etc., Aramaic); *cf.* our remarks above (p. 198, 22). Does this lack of a separate absolute state form constitute the only feature of the Aramaic method? Let us inflect לֵבָב on the one hand and דִּבַשׁ on the other.

abs.	לֵבָב	דִּבַשׁ
cstr.	לְבַב	דִּבַשׁ
	לְבָבִי	דִּבְשִׁי
	לְבָבְךָ	דִּבַשְׁךָ *or* דִּבְשְׁךָ
	לְבַבְכֶם	דִּבַשְׁכֶם *or* דִּבְשְׁכֶם

NOTES.—1. In דִּבְשִׁי the first syllable is *loosely* closed, *cf.* בִּשְׁכָבָהּ Gen. 19:33, צָלְלוּ Jer. 6:4 [which otherwise would be pronounced and written צָלוּ], though occasionally it may be *firmly* closed [*cf.* בִּרְכָה cstr. בִּרְכַת but בִּרְכָתִי, חֲרָדָה cstr. חֲרָדַת]: וּבְזַעְפּוֹ 2 Chron. 26:19.—2. The ַ after the first radical becomes ָ *after* a guttural: לְחֻנָּתָהּ Ps. 102:14, בְּחֻטְאָהּ Num. 15:28, *cf.* סִפְרִי, סִפְרֵי but חֶלְקִי, חֶלְקֵי [so also after the palatal (semi-guttural) ג: גָּלְלוּ Job 20:7]; *before* a guttural we find in its place ֲ (where it may be disputed whether we have before us an actual phonetic change or else the guttural *preserves* an original A; qatal and qital were old parallels, and it is perfectly possible that the latter represents a deflection from the former): וּבְזַעְפּוֹ, וּלְסַעֲרָה Isa. 9:6, *cf.* in the verb קָרַב Lev. 9:7, קִרְבוּ *ibid.* 10:4, but *שְׁחַט [imperf. יִשְׁחַט *ibid.* 4:33], שָׁחֲטוּ Ex.

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12:21 (this is the rule, although occasionally we meet with שִׁחֲדוּ Job 6:22), also Arab. بَرَأَ imperf. يَبْرَأُ, فَتَحَ—يَفْتَحُ (Vernier, I., § 146, 2). Hence בַּעֲדִי Lam. 3:7 and שַׂעְרֵךְ Cant. 4:1 belong to בְּעַד Gen. 26:8 and שְׂעַר 2 Sam. 14:26, in spite of בַּעַד Cant. 4:1 and שַׂעַר Isa. 7:20, in spite also of Arab. شَعْرٌ.—3. דִּבְשְׁךָ, *cf.* בְּצַעְדְּךָ Judg. 5:4, רַקְעֲךָ Ezek. 35:6 (Lagarde, *loc. cit.* 142:8, rightly compares imper. רְקַע *ibid.* 6:11; he should, however, have used the term فَعْلٌ, *ibid.* 1, with the limitation set forth above note 2: ק is a semi-guttural, בִּקְעָם Am. 1:13 notwithstanding). For דְּבַשְׁךָ I have no example; I infer it for the present from דְּבַשְׁכֶם, *cf.* note 4 (the קְטֹל forms will offer us later on a more complete analogy).—4. For דִּבְשְׁכֶם I have no example; דְּבַשְׁכֶם *cf.* לַחֲנַנְכֶם Isa. 30:18. In לְבַב and לְבַבְכֶם the two systems meet. I look upon לְבַבְכֶם as an Aramaic form. In לְבַב we have a special case of the working of the principle to which we owe לְבַבְכֶם (*cf.* above, p. 208, 7).—5. זַעְפּוֹ and צַעְדְּךָ show total loss of the second stem-vowel; *i. e.*, we obtain forms analogous to ܟܰܬܦܳܐ, ܟܰܬܦܳܟܽܘܢ; thus the transition into the "segolate" class is effected (*cf.* above, p. 207 *sq.*); the next step is בַּעַדְךָ Lev. 9:7, *i. e.*, to use a term from Syriac grammar, a form with the ܡܰܗܓܳܢܳܐ (p. 207, 25), of which בַּעַד is a direct descendant. Similarly we obtain זַעַם Prov. 19:12, צַעַד *ibid.* 30:29, שַׂעַר Isa. 7:20. (Note also the differentiation in meaning: צְעַד = *stepping* [infin.], צַעַד = *step*).—6. From צִלְלוֹ to צִלּוֹ Hos. 14:8 there is but one step—the *loosely* closed syllable is *firmly* closed (we may presume, this transition took place first before ־ךָ and ־כֶם and was thence transferred to other forms), which ultimately resulted in צֵל; similarly חֶנְנָהּ gave rise to חֵן, חֶטְאָה [from *חֲטָא] to חֵטְא. We have now sufficient ground to assume that לִבִּי through לִבֲבִי goes back to לְבַב, *i. e.*, לֵבָב inflected according to the Aramaic method. Similarly דִּבְשְׁךָ would have paved the way for *דֵּבֶשׁ = Arab. دِبْسٌ, just as from צַעְדְּךָ [= *צַעַדְךָ] we actually have צַעַד (above, note 5). צֵלַע 2 Sam. 16:13 [with which goes ܥܰܠܳܐ, ضِلْعٌ] and צֶלַע Ex. 36:31 are descendants of *צְלַע [= Aram. עֲלַע], *i. e.*, the Aramaically inflected צֵלָע. קֵטָל forms

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are but sparely represented in actual Hebrew; still the list may be considerably increased by the aid of derivatives, and at the same time their transition into קְטַל and קֶטֶל forms may be witnessed. שִׁכָּרוֹן by the side of שֵׁכָר points the way. זִכָּרוֹן and its companions of the type קִטָּלוֹן (Lagarde, *loc. cit.* 199–202) presuppose *זֵכָר, etc. The cstr. state זִכְרוֹן is analogous to the Aramaic forms of the type ܩܛܠܢ (*ibid.* 198). Hebrew יִתְרוֹן Eccl. 1:3, חֶסְרוֹן [later Hebrew traditionally חִסָּרוֹן], חֶשְׁבּוֹן *ibid.* 7:25 are again instances of the Aramaic method. זִכְרוֹן has זִכְרִי, זֵכֶר by its side, חֶסְרוֹן—חֲסַר Prov. 10:21, חֶסֶר *ibid.* 28:22, חֶשְׁבּוֹן—חֵשֶׁב Ex. 28:8, פִּתְחוֹן—פֵּתַח Ps. 119:130, שִׁבָּרוֹן—שֵׁבֶר Am. 6:6, תִּמְהוֹן—the later Hebrew תֵּמַהּ = the disfigured תימה. Thus we obtain the parallels *זֵכָר, *חֵסָר, *חֵשָׁב, *פֵּתָח, *שֵׁבָר, *תֵּמָהּ and זֵכֶר, חֲסַר, חֵשֶׁב, פֵּתַח, שֵׁבֶר, תֵּמַהּ, the latter representing the דְּבַשׁ column of the text. Such parallels as חֵלֶף and חֲלוֹף, Aramaic חֵלֶם and Hebr. חֲלוֹם, Hebr. סֵתֶר and ܣܬܪܐ, צֵל and ܛܠܐ, etc., become now intelligible.—7. The difference between the Hebrew and Aramaic methods is once more brought out in the absolute state of the feminine noun (there being no room for difference in the other forms). It is difficult to tell in Hebrew which original vowel the ְ in a form like צְדָקָה represents. But חֶרְדַּת points to the ֲ in חֲרָדָה standing for I. Hence לֵבָב would form *לְבָבָה, which form we should have indeed inferred from לְבָבִי. But דְּבַשׁ forms דִּבְשָׁה, *cf.* לְרִבְעָה Lev. 20:16 (with the first syllable *loosely* closed, as we learn from the analogy of feminines from קְטֹל nouns, *cf.* below; occasionally it will have been *firmly* closed, *cf.* חֶרְדַּת with *חֶרְדָּה as the next possible form; *cf.* indeed לִבָּתֵךְ Ezek. 16:30, si vera lectio). צִמְאָה Jer. 2:25 by the side of צִמָּאוֹן Deut. 8:15 points to *צְמָא, *i. e.*, the Aramaically inflected *צֵמָא. [*Cf.* שֵׂעָר, שְׂעַר, שַׂעֲרָה Judg. 20:16, שַׂעַר.] In the actual language we find צָמָא Isa. 41:17. Hence קָטָל and קֵטָל nouns are from the very beginning parallel formations. Thus we find by the side of רְעָבוֹן cstr. רַעֲבוֹן—רָעָב (it will be seen now that our suggestion above as to

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the guttural *preserving* a preceding A is strikingly confirmed), alongside of עִצָּבוֹן—*עָצָב (inferred from the pl. עֲצַבִּים) and עֶצֶב Prov. 10:22. Hence also the parallels זֵכֶר and זֶכֶר, סֵתֶר and סָתֶר, פֵּתַח and פֶּתַח, שֵׁבֶר and שֶׁבֶר; hence צִדְקִי and צֶדֶק and "all s. c. qatl nouns inflected like qitl nouns." The "infinitive nouns" אַהֲבָה opp. שִׂנְאָה, דַּאֲבָה, יִרְאָה, etc., presuppose *אֱהַב, *שְׂנָא, *דְּאַב, *יְרָא which ultimately go back to אָהָב, etc., from which they can descend only along Aramaic lines. By the side of דְּאָבוֹן cstr. דַּאֲבוֹן—דְּאָבָה Job 41:14 is a Hebrew form, דַּאֲבָה Jer. 31:12 its Aramaic deflection.—8. It has been observed and recognized both by Lagarde (*loc. cit.* 142, 20 *sqq.*) and Barth (*loc. cit.* 105 *sqq.*) that קָטָל nouns are the *proper* (so correctly Barth) infinitives of קָטֵל verbs. Both fail to see that חֵפֶץ, *e. g.*, goes back through *חֲפַץ, *חֵפָץ to *חָפָץ. I for one could never understand how an infinitive (*i. e.*, an abstract noun) could be derived formally from the perfect tense (*i. e.*, the participial form of the verb, the mode of actuality). To my mind infinitive nouns went most naturally with the imperfect tense as the mode of potentiality or abstraction. Nor could I become a convert to the belief in migration (metathesis) of vowels. Nouns of the type חֵפֶץ have no *formative* origin; they are created within the inflection of חֵפָץ nouns (twin-brothers of חָפָץ nouns), not according to the Hebrew method to be sure, but along the lines of the Aramaic system, the existence of which in Hebrew is not merely represented by the second column in the text, but also traceable within the first, as it has been shown, I think conclusively, in the foregoing notes.—9. I am inclined to consider קָטוֹל and קְטוֹל—فَعَال and فِعَال—nouns as parents of קָטָל and קֵטָל. The s. c. infinitive absolute קָטוֹל is brought together by Barth (*loc. cit.* 57 *sqq.*) with the perf. of קָטַל verbs; its formation from other than קָטַל verbs is explained as due to analogy. It seems to me that the reverse is just as likely. קָטוֹל and קְטוֹל infinitives properly belong to those verbs the second vowel in the imperfect tense-stem of which is A (orig. Ā?). The deflection of קָטוֹל and קְטוֹל to קָטָל and קֵטָל may have first

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taken place in קְטָלִים, קְטָלָה, קְטָלוֹן, מִקְטָל forms where the formative element seemed to make the long vowel superfluous (*cf.* Barth's principle of compensation, p. xiii *sq.*). קְטָלָה = qa(or qi)tálat (the accent remains, of course, where it originally was, qa(or qi)tā́làt, with a slight accent on the ultima) is consequently older than קִטְלָה = qá(or qi)talàt, and we thus learn to appreciate the Hebrew method of inflection as older than the Aramaic system, though we admit that the latter plays a very important part in the present Hebrew system. A conglomeration of forms like עָשׂוֹר, עֲשָׂרָה, עָשָׂר, עֶשֶׂר—עִשָּׂרוֹן [=עִשָּׂר+וֹן], עֶשְׂרֹנִים, עֶשְׂרִים, עֶשְׂרֵה becomes now perfectly intelligible. The genealogy of a חֵפֶץ form may be traced as follows: חֵפֶץ = חֲפַץ = חֵפֶץ = חֲפוֹץ = חָפוֹץ ‖ חָפָץ = חֲפַץ = חֶפֶץ.—10. It seems to me that qitāl and qutāl were both parallels of qatāl differentiated for qatil and qatul verbs. Qutāl was deflected to qutal and subsequently along the lines of the Aramaic method to qutl. Hence טֳהָרוֹ Ps. 89:45 (abs. טֳהָר, *cf.* כְּתָב, or טָהָר, *cf.* דָּבָר? The answer is immaterial for our purposes and from our point of view. The ֳ under the ט does not help one way or the other. Note by the way that the proper vocalization of טהרות[סדר] is טֳהָרוֹת and that it should be transcribed accordingly) and טֹהַר, טֳהָרָה; hence also such combinations as נֵכָר and נֹכֶר, *i. e.*, the verb existed both as נָכֵר and נָכֹר, just as טֻמְאָה by the side of טָמֵא points to טָמֹא. [It is hardly necessary for me to say that it is not my opinion that *all* qitl nouns go back to qital and not say qitil, or *all* qutl forms to qutal and not *e. g.* qutul; *cf.* indeed our remarks further on; in any case it has been shown that Hebrew nouns of the type קֶטֶל go back to fuller (dissyllabic) formations, and that they do so only within the Aramaic system.]

The דְּבַשׁ column, it will be seen now, represents the Aramaic inflection not mainly and exclusively in the lack of a distinct absol. state form, but throughout, in all its essential features which, as was demonstrated above, are rooted in the laws of Early Aramaic accentuation. Moreover, the לֵבָב column itself contains encroachments on the part of the Aramaic method.

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The inflection of קְטֹל nouns is another instance of the prevalence of the Aramaic method in Hebrew, and proceeds along the same lines as the דְּבַשׁ inflection.

abs.	קְטֹל		
cstr.	קְטֹל		
	קָטְלִי		
	קָטְלְךָ	*or*	קְטָלְךָ
	קָטְלְכֶם	*or*	קְטָלְכֶם

NOTES.—1. קְטֹל is the ordinary form of the s. c. "infinitive construct."—2. קָטְלִי, *cf.* רָדְפִי Ps. 38:21, hence with the first syllable *loosely* closed; but *cf.* the occasional form הָפְכִּי Gen. 19:21.—3. קָטְלְךָ, *cf.* אָסְפְּךָ Ex. 23:16; קְטָלְךָ, *cf.* לִרְדָּפְךָ 1 Sam. 25:29.—4. קָטְלְכֶם, *cf.* עָבְרְכֶם Josh. 4:23; קְטָלְכֶם, *cf.* מְרָדְכֶם *ibid.* 22:16.—5. אָסְפְּךָ and הָפְכִּי are "segolate" forms; the next step is מָאָסְכֶם Isa. 30:12, קָרָבְכֶם Deut. 20:3, *i. e.*, with the ܡܗܰܓܶܢܳܐ; in אֹסֶף Isa. 32:10 the development into a "segolate" is completed.—6. The feminine of קְטֹל is קָטְלָה, *cf.* לְקָרְבָה Ex. 36:2.—7. The Hebrew inflection seems to be entirely wanting, unless we interpret קָטְנִי 2 Chron. 10:10 in the light of אֲדֻמָּה fem. of אָדֹם; the fem. גְּדֻלָּה would be the Hebrew counterpart of the Aramaic קָרְבָה, if the ֻ in גְּדֻלָּה could with certainty be said to stand for *u*.—8. קְטֹל, *i. e.*, qutul, may be a deflection of qutūl || qatūl = the infinitive of imperff. in u (ū ?); *cf.* Barth, *loc. cit.*, 126 *sqq.*

Another example of the Aramaic method in Hebrew is offered by those nouns of the קֶטֶל class which go back to קָטֵל forms. After Lagarde's lucid treatment of the subject (*loc. cit.* 71 *sqq.*), we may take the fact for granted, and content ourselves with showing how it is only through our discovery of the Aramaic vein in the inflection of the Hebrew noun that the process becomes intelligible. Lagarde argues thus: גָּדֵר has for its construct state גֶּדֶר, יָרֵךְ—وَرِكٌ, יֶרֶךְ, כָּתֵף—كَتِفٌ כֶּתֶף, etc.; hence מֶלֶךְ was originally the cstr. st. of *מָלֵךְ = مَلِكٌ and subsequently came to be used also in the absol. state. So far everything is clear and true. But I ask myself—and so will many a reader of Lagarde's

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book have asked himself—how is it that, while we find כָּתֵף cstr. כֶּתֶף with suff. כְּתֵפִי Job 31:22, we never find *מְלֵכִי (for מַלְכִּי)? My answer is: מַלְכִּי is a form of the Aramaically inflected *מָלֵךְ, just as לִבִּי is the resultant of the Aramaic inflection of לֵבָב; מַלְכִּי itself presupposes *מַלְכִי just as זַעְפּוֹ is later than סַעֲדָהּ, הָפְכִּי later than רָדְפִי; the loss of the second stem vowel was necessary in מַלְכְּךָ (as soon as the *מְלֶכְךָ form was avoided); the firm closing of the first syllable became fixed; to facilitate the pronunciation, מַלְכְּךָ forms were spoken as *מֶלֶכְךָ (with the ܡܗܰܓܝܳܢܳܐ, *cf.* נַעַרְךָ by the side of נַעַר), of which מֶלֶךְ was a direct descendant. The transition may be witnessed on Hebrew ground. יָרֵךְ, יְרֵכִי, *יְרֵכָה [*cf.* זָקֵן, זְקֵנָה] cstr. *יַרְכַת [*cf.* חֲשֵׁכָה cstr. חֶשְׁכַת], יַרְכָתוֹ, יַרְכָתַיִם cstr. יַרְכְּתֵי [so necessarily with כּ] ||*יַרְכָּתַיִם, *יַרְכָּתוֹ, *יַרְכַּת, *יַרְכָּה, *יַרְכִּי, יֶרֶךְ. Similarly, הַפְּרְכֶם Lev. 26:15 is an Aramaic form. I tell my students who are acquainted with the fact that we possess in the present Hebrew incompletely developed triliteral forms with no attempt at increasing the volume of the root element by doubling, and who would quote to me תַּמְנוּ Num. 17:28, יָזְמוּ Gen. 11:6, נָבְלָה *ibid.* 7, יֵצְרוּ Job 18:7, וְנָסְבָה Ezek. 41:7 as instances, that הַפְּרְכֶם is just such a form. I ask one to come to the blackboard and inflect הָפֵר first in the usual manner. He will write

abs. הָפֵר
cstr. הֲפֵר
הֲפֵרִי *cf.* הַחִלָּם Gen. 11:6.
הֲפֵרְכֶם.

I will ask him furthermore to inflect הָפֵר as a biliteral, after the analogy of זָקֵן.

abs. הָפֵר
cstr. הֲפֵר *cf.* עֲקֵב Gen. 25:26
or הֲפַר *cf.* זְקַן Gen. 24:2
הֲפֵרִי *cf.* כְּתֵפִי
הֲפֵרְכֶם *or* הֲפַרְכֶם = הֲפַר־כֶם *cf.* דְּבַרְכֶם = דְּבַר־כֶם.

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Lastly he will be instructed to deflect הַפֵּר after the analogy of דְּבַשׁ, allowing, however, the ַ after the ה (the parent-vowel of the ֶ in הַפֵּר) to remain throughout unchanged. If I am asked why, I will say *cf.* חַבְרֵי Isa. 1:23, cstr. of חֲבֵרִים, but זִקְנֵי cstr. of זְקֵנִים (*i. e.*, the guttural preserves an original A).

cstr.	הַפֵּר
	הַפְרֵי
	הַפְרֵךְ *or* הַפְרֵךְ
	הַפְרֵכֶם *or* הַפְרֵכֶם.

I go on to tell the class that חָבֵר would be inflected in Aramaic regularly after the fashion of הַפֵּר: חֲבַר, חַבְרֵי, חַבְרְכוֹן and point out how from חַבְרְכוֹן we could easily obtain חֶבֶר, just as from מַלְכְּכוֹן we have מֶלֶךְ, hence from הַפְרְכוֹן—הֶפֶר*, and that if they now said הַפְרְכוֹן "came from" הֶפֶר, I had no objection. *Cf.* indeed the traditional עֵין הֶרֶם Berākōt 2*b* = نُقْطَة كَـــنْـــا = *μικὴ ὀφθαλμοῦ* 1 Cor. 15:52, and הֶנֶץ הַחַמָּה Ber. 9*b*, יוֹם הֶנֶם Rōš haššānā 4:2 for הָרֶם, הָנֵץ and הָנֵם, the last two being forms from ע"ו roots. Similarly I explain מֶכֶס Num. 31:37 with its fem. cstr. st. מִכְסַת Ex. 12:4, מֶמֶר Prov. 17:25 and תֶּבֶל Lev. 20:12 as Aramaic deflections from *מָכֵס, *מָמֵר, *תָּבֵל.

The following observations will, I think, more fully substantiate our assumption in Hebrew of the Aramaic inflection of חָבֵר nouns. The דָּבָר and עוֹלָם—qatal and qātal—nouns show a complete analogy with reference to one another in their inflection in Hebrew. *Cf.*

abs.	דָּבָר	עוֹלָם
cstr.	דְּבַר	עוֹלַם
	דִּבְרִי	עוֹלָמִי
	דְּבָרְךָ	עוֹלָמְךָ
	דִּבְרְכֶם	עוֹלָמְכֶם
	דִּבְרֵי, דְּבָרִים	עוֹלְמֵי, עוֹלָמִים
	דִּבְרֵי(כֶם)	עוֹלְמֵי(כֶם)

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But the חָבֵר and שׁוֹפֵט—qatil and qātil—nouns as a rule do not:

abs.	חָבֵר	שׁוֹפֵט
cstr.	חֲבֵר	שׁוֹפֵט
	חֲבֵרִי	שָׁפְטִי
	חֲבֵרְךָ	שָׁפְטְךָ
	חֲבֵרְכֶם	שָׁפְטְכֶם
	חֲבֵרִים, חֲבֵרַי	שָׁפְטִים, שָׁפְטַי
	חֲבֵרֵי(כֶם)	שָׁפְטֵי(כֶם)

The lack of analogy is felt in חֲבֵרִי, חֲבֵרְךָ, חֲבֵרִים, חֲבֵרַי contrasted with שָׁפְטִי, שָׁפְטְךָ, שָׁפְטִים, שָׁפְטַי; in חֲבֵרָה compared with שָׁפְטָה. The שׁוֹפֵט column is thoroughly Aramaic (*cf.* above, p. 208). Occasional forms like שׁוֹמֵמָה 2 Sam. 13:20, שׁוֹמְמִים Lam. 1:16 are on a line with עֹלְמִי, עֹלָמִים, *i. e.*, remnants of the Hebrew inflection (as over against the Aramaic, *cf.* עָלְמִין, יָתְבִין). חֲבֵרִי, חֲבֵרְךָ, חֲבֵרִים, חֲבֵרַי correspond to דְּבָרִי, דְּבָרְךָ, דְּבָרִים, דְּבָרַי; *i. e.*, the חָבֵר column is in its greater part Hebrew. Hence the dissonance. As שׁוֹמֵמָה, שׁוֹמְמִים are Hebrew forms compared with שָׁפְטָה, שָׁפְטִים, so are *מַלְכִי (inferred from מַלְכֵי) forms Aramaic compared with חֲבֵרִי. Aramaic כָּתְבִי, כַּתְפֵי differ only in the quantity of the first vowel; so do Hebrew כָּתְבִי, *כַּתְפִי (=כַּתְפֵי* from which כָּתֵף).

Coming back to our statement (above, p. 213), we may assert without fear of contradiction on the basis of the foregoing illustrations that the Aramaic method of nominal inflection as described above (p. 198 *sqq.*) and as traced there (p. 202) to its origin in the laws of Early Aramaic accentuation, largely permeates our Hebrew nominal inflection and goes side by side with another method which we may call the Hebrew proper. Hence, if we find that a problem as the one stated at the head of this paper and reiterated on p. 212 cannot be answered on Hebrew ground, but is fully solved in Aramaic, we are justified in seeing in this fact another instance of the prevalence of the Aramaic method of inflection in Hebrew. In truth, עֶצֶרֶת and מֶלֶךְ, חֲמֵשֶׁת and סֵפֶר, יִבְשֶׁת and קֹדֶשׁ nouns *must* owe their origin to one and

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the same principle; and since, I think, it has been shown conclusively that the s. c. "segolate" nouns are not independent formations, but represent "deflections" (the term, I hope, will not be found inappropriate) from dissyllabic formations inflected according to the Aramaic method (which latter is based on a few simple accentual principles), so will the עֲצֶרֶת etc. nouns, instead of being regarded as parallel formations with the "toneless and consonantal" ending T, have to be understood as Aramaic deflections from nouns with the only original accented and vocalic termination: AT. There is no trace in Hebrew (as there is none in Aramaic, p. 211) of a consonantal termination T. עֲצֶרֶת is a back formation from עֲצַרְתְּכֶם through עֲצֶרֶתְכֶם (with the ܡܬܓܢܢܐ), just as מֶלֶךְ is formed backwards from מַלְכְּכֶם (above, p. 219 *sq.*); and just as מַלְכְּכֶם goes back to the Aramaically inflected *מָלֵךְ, so does עֲצַרְתְּכֶם go back to the Aramaically inflected *עֲצָרָה. *מָלֵךְ and עֲצָרָה are proper Hebrew "formations"; מֶלֶךְ and עֲצֶרֶת represent Aramaic "deflections" on Hebrew ground.

The only scholar of modern times who to my mind had an inkling of the real origin of the עֲצֶרֶת nouns in Hebrew was S. D. Luzzatto. His views on the subject I gather from a letter appended to the Vienna (1865) edition of the מַעֲשֵׂה אֵפֹד (= the same author's *Prolegomeni ad una grammatica ragionata della lingua Ebraica*, Padova, 1836, p. 124 *sq.*). He starts with the assertion (יְסוֹד הַיְסֹדוֹת בְּחָכְמַת לְשׁוֹן הַקֹּדֶשׁ) that Hebrew and Aramaic at one time formed one language, and that of the two Aramaic preserved in its greater part the original form, while Hebrew underwent in course of time many changes. Hence it follows, he claims, that many phenomena in Hebrew can be explained adequately only from Aramaic. Among the various points which Luzzatto attempts to elucidate by the aid of Aramaic is found the following one touching our subject. He makes the observation that for the sake of euphony and vocalic richness (לְאַהֲבַת הַנְּעִימוּת וְרִבּוּי הַתְּנוּעוֹת), the Aramaic types גְּבַר, צְלֵם, קְשֹׁט are transformed in Hebrew into גֶּבֶר, צֶלֶם and קֹשֶׁט forms. He proceeds to explain as Aramaic forms some Hebrew anomalies and concludes by saying: בָּזֶה יִתְבָּאֵר גַּם־כֵּן מֵהֵיכָן בָּאוּ לִקְצָת שְׁמוֹת

לְשׁוֹן נְקֵבָה שְׁתֵּי תְמוּנוֹת, כְּגוֹן מִשְׁמָרָה מִשְׁמֶרֶת, מִלְחָמָה מִלְחֶמֶת,

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מְלָאכָה מְלֶאכֶת, הִנֵּה הַסְּמִיכוּת מִן־מִשְׁמָרָה הוּא מִשְׁמֶרֶת, וְאַחַר כָּךְ הֶחֱלִיפוּ מְרַת בְּמֶרֶת, עַל־דֶּרֶךְ שֶׁהֶחֱלִיפוּ גְּבַר בְּגֶבֶר, וְלִהְיוֹת כִּי מִשְׁמֶרֶת הָיָה מִתְּחִלָּתוֹ סָמוּךְ נִשְׁאַר רֹב שִׁמּוּשׁ מִשְׁמֶרֶת וַחֲבֵרָיו בִּסְמִיכוּת; אֲבָל הוֹאִיל וּמִשְׁקַל פֶּעֶל וַחֲבֵרָיו הוּא שָׁוֶה לְסָמוּךְ וּלְנִפְרָד, אָמְרוּ לִפְעָמִים גַּם לְנִפְרָד מִשְׁמֶרֶת מְלֶאכֶת מִלְחֶמֶת.

This statement, crude as it is, contains many germs of the true state of affairs. Luzzatto errs in ascribing an earlier date to the Aramaic decay of vowels from the point of view of Hebrew, not to say Semitic. His distrust of the use of Arabic for comparative purposes misleads him. He is also very mechanical about the "change" of גְּבַר into גֶּבֶר, ־מְרַת into ־מֶרֶת. He finds himself, however, on this point in good company. It was reserved for Lagarde (*loc. cit.* 73) to ridicule the idea of "qatl forms throwing their vowel forward behind the second radical" (*cf.* Stade's [*Grammatik*, 146] "Abart mit verrücktem Vocale"). The true interpretation has been given, I think, in the present paper; but the fact we find stated, somewhat awkwardly it may be granted, in the above remarks of the Italian scholar, and he shall receive his due credit for what he has seen.

It may not be out of place, simply by way of recapitulation, to follow out in the order adopted above (p. 198), for the Aramaic system of nominal inflection, the traces of that method in Hebrew, showing each time the place which the עֲצֶרֶת forms occupy within the whole system.

BILITERALS.

I. *a.*	בֵּן	cstr.	בֶּן־,	בִּן־	*b.*	קָם	cstr.	קָם, קָם־
II.	בְּנִי					קָמִי		
	בְּנָה*	cstr.	בְּנַת*	בַּת		קָמָה	cstr.	קָמַת קֶמֶת
III.	בִּנְכֶם,		בִּנְתִּי*	—בִּתִּי		קָמְכֶם,		קַמְתִּי־קָמְתִּי*
IV.	בְּנַתְכֶם*			—בִּתְּכֶם				קַמְתְּכֶם־קָמַתְכֶם

I. *c.*	לֵב	cstr.	לֶב־,	לֵב־
II.	לִבִּי			
	אִשָּׁה	cstr.	אִשַּׁת	אֵשֶׁת
III.	לִבְּכֶם,		אִשְּׁתִּי*	—אִשְׁתִּי
IV.			אִשַּׁתְכֶם	—אִשְׁתְּכֶם

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NOTES.—1. בִּן־ : בִּנְכֶם = קָם־ : קָמְכֶם. לֶב־ presupposes לֶבְכֶם *cf.* אֶשְׁכֶם Isa. 50:11.—2. *בְּנָה, *בְּנַתְ(כֶם) we infer from בְּנִי *cf.* קָמָה, קָמַתְ(כֶם) ‖ קָמִי, מִלָּה, מִלַּתְ(כֶם) ‖ לִבִּי (examples may be found in any one of our current grammars).—3. *בִּנְתִי, קָמְתִי, אִשְׁתִי (אִשְׁתִי) are inferred from בִּתִּי, קַמְתִּי, אִשְׁתִּי. Between קָמְתִי and קַמְתִּי the form *קָמְתִּי had its place, just as from אִשְׁתִּי, אִשְׁתִי (*cf.* אֶשְׁכֶם) led the way to אִשְׁתִּי.—4. בִּתְּכֶם is earlier than בִּתִּי, קַמְתְּכֶם than קַמְתִּי, אִשְׁתְּכֶם than אִשְׁתִּי. *בְּנַתְכֶם would be a good Hebrew form.—5. Interesting is the traditional reading שַׁעַת (cstr. of שָׁעָה = سَاعَةٌ), שַׁעְתּוֹ. שְׁעַת, שְׁעָתוֹ (Delitzsch in Baer's *Ezechiel*, p. viii) are impossible; שָׁעַת, שָׁעָתוֹ certainly possible, but שַׁעַת, שַׁעְתּוֹ would be in keeping with tradition.

TRILITERALS.

FIRST CLASS:

I. עֲנַף — עֶנֶף

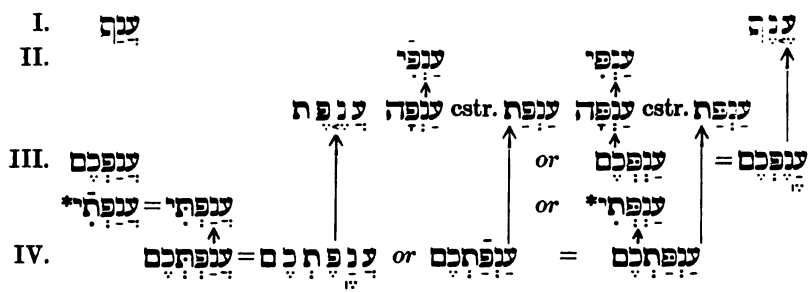
II. עַנְפִּי — עַנְפִּי

עֲנֶפֶת — עַנְפָּה cstr. עַנְפַת — עַנְפָּה cstr. עַנְפַת

III. עֲנַפְכֶם — or עַנְפְּכֶם = עֶנֶפְכֶם

עֲנַפְתִּי = עֲנַפְתִּי* — or עַנְפְּתִי*

IV. עֲנַפְתְּכֶם = עֲנֶפֶתְכֶם or עַנְפַתְכֶם = עַנְפַּתְכֶם



The preceding table will serve as an illustration also for יְרֵךְ and קְטֹל.

THIRD CLASS:

I. כֹּתֵב, כֹּתֶב־ (כֹּתֵב־)

II. כֹּתְבִי

כֹּתֶבֶת — כֹּתְבָה cstr. כֹּתְבַת

III. כֹּתֶבְכֶם

כֹּתֶבְתִּי = כֹּתֶבְתִּי*

IV. כֹּתֶבְתְּכֶם = כֹּתֶבְתְּכֶם or כֹּתְבַתְכֶם*

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NOTE.—כֹּתְבַת forms are still found in Hebrew, *cf.* מַצְּבַת 2 Kgs. 10:27 ‖ מַצֶּבֶת Gen. 35:14, תּוֹעֲבַת Deut. 25:16, מַתְּנַת *ibid.* 16:17 ‖ מַתַּת Prov. 25:14.

FOURTH CLASS:

I. גְּבִיר־, גְּבִיר

II. גְּבִירִי

מְצִלָּה גְּבִירַת cstr. גְּבִירָה גְּבֶרֶת

III. גְּבִירְכֶם

מְצִלְתַּיִם גְּבִירְתִּי* = גְּבִירְתִּי* = גְּבִרְתִּי

IV. גְּבִירְתְּכֶם* = גְּבִרְתְּכֶם = גְּבֶרֶתְכֶם or גְּבִירַתְכֶם

NOTES.—1. It may be disputed whether גְּבֶרֶת is a direct descendant of גְּבִיר, גְּבִירָה, or else comes from גְּבַר = גָּבָר* or גָּבֵר*. The same question may be asked concerning the feminine forms of the type עֲנֶפֶת (First Class): they may be direct descendants of עָנוֹף = ʿanāp forms (*cf.* above, p. 216). עָבוֹד ‖ עֲבוֹד could form a double feminine: עֲבֹדָה = عِبَادَةٌ and עֲבָדָה *cf.* בַּקָּרָה, הַצָּלָה ‖ בַּקֹּר*, הַצֹּל (according to Barth, *cf.* above, p. 217, 3). As עֲבָדָה would be deflected to עֲבֶדֶת, so עֲבֹדָה to עֲבֹדֶת, *cf.* כַּפֹּרֶת = كَفَّارَةٌ. Hence שְׁכֹבֶת = שְׁכֹבָה* fem. of שָׁכוֹב, שְׁכוֹב from which we have שְׁכַב, as קְטֹרֶת is actually found by the side of קְטוֹרָה Deut. 33:10. I have a right to draw יְבֹשֶׁת to יָבוֹשׁ, יְכֹלֶת to יָכוֹל, and it depends entirely on my general feeling how far I shall make use of it. Some קְטֹלֶת forms certainly are to be drawn to קְטוּלָה nouns, *i. e.*, are feminines of קָטוּל, קְטוּל, the infinitive of yaqtul, yuqtul (yaqtūl? yuqtūl?); but others may come from קְטוֹלָה, fem. of קָטוֹל, the infinitive of yaqtal (yaqtāl?). קְטֹלֶת gave birth to קְטֹל. Hence קְטֹל forms in Hebrew are derivable from קָטוֹל and קָטוּל.—2. In the same manner קְטֵל may go back to קָטִיל, the infinitive of yaqtil (yaqtīl). But זְאֵב = ذِئْبٌ, בְּאֵר = بِئْرٌ, etc., compared with שְׂאֵת (certainly later than שֵׂאת* in לָשֵׂאת), מֹצְאֵת for מֹצֵאת, point to זֵאב*, בֵּאר* (hence in the inflection זְאֵבִים, זְאֵבֵי), *i. e.*, are properly qitl

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nouns (*cf.* שֶׁאֱלָתִי and שְׁאֵלָתֵךְ = שֵׁלָתֵךְ, *cf.* also לֵאמֹר ‖ בֶּאֱמֹר), which may then be deflections from qital types. בְּאֵר, *i. e.*, בֵּאר*, by the side of בֹּאר, רֵאשׁ [*cf.* רֵאשִׁית] by the side of רֹאשׁ = رَأْسٌ point to בָּאוֹר and רָאוֹשׁ as their common parent forms of which bi'ār, bu'ār and ri'āš were variants.—3. The preceding observations hold good with the Second Class: the traditional צַדֶּקֶת (Levy, *Talmudwbch.*, IV., 172) is an instance.

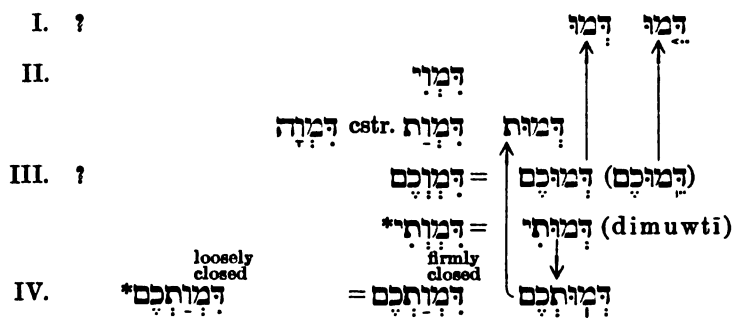
PLURILITERALS.

מַמְלַכְתִּי and מֵינִקְתָּהּ, מֵינֶקֶת by the side of מֵינִיקוֹת will serve as illustrations. A special table is hardly necessary.

ROOTS WITH A SEMIVOWEL AS THIRD RADICAL.

FIRST CLASS:

I.	?			דְּמוּ	דֵּמוּ
II.			דִּמְוִי		
		דִּמְוָה cstr.	דִּמְוַת	דְּמוּת	
III.	?		דִּמְוְכֶם =	דְּמוּכֶם	(דֵּמוּכֶם)
			דִּמְוְתִי* =	דְּמוּתִי	(dimuwtī)
		loosely closed	firmly closed		
IV.		דִּמְוַתְכֶם*	= דִּמְוַתְכֶם	דְּמוּתְכֶם	



NOTES.—1. It is not easy in each case to trace back the "segolates" of ל״וי roots to their exact dissyllabic prototypes. Still كِسْوَةٌ = כְּסוּת and كِسَاءٌ = kisāwu^{n} cannot be dissociated. A good many of the qatl, qitl, qutl nouns here also will represent deflections from qatāl, qitāl, qutāl types (infinitives). Nor have we a right to dissociate עֱנוּת = עֶנְוָה* ‖ עַנְוָה and עֲנָוָה = ʿa(i)náwat fem. of עָנוֹ* (the references are Ps. 22:25; 45:5 and Prov. 18:12). דִּמְוַתְכֶם (with the first syllable *loosely* closed) we infer from עַנְוָתְךָ Ps. 18:36 (though the latter could be drawn to עַנְוָה; the parallel עֲנֹתְךָ 2 Sam. 22:36 needs no correction [against Stade-Siegfried]: it comes from עָנוֹת* = ʿanawat, *cf.* אָחוֹת, אֲחוֹתְךָ, Aram. אֲחָת, Heb. קְצָת). The

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next step would be דִּמְוַתְכֶם with the first syllable *firmly* closed, necessary in דִּמְוָתִי; from דִּמְוַתְכֶם we obtain דִּמְוַת, דִּמְוָה ‖ דִּמְוִי; *cf.* indeed חֶדְוַת, חֶדְוָה and for qatl nouns גֵּאֲוָה, שַׁלְוָה, שַׁלְוִי. —2. דִּמְוָתִי gives rise to ܕܡܘܬܝ *cf.* ܙܢܝܬܐ, *i. e.*, a form with the ܡܬܓܢܝܢܐ; from ܕܡܘܬܝ we obtain through ܕܡܘܬܘܢ דֵּמוּ *cf.* שֵׂכוּ, שָׂחוּ, תֹּהוּ, just as from *תֹּאַרְכֶם (*cf.* תֹּאֲרוֹ) = תָּאָרְכֶם we obtain תֹּאַר (; the form בְּמֹצַאֲכֶם Gen. 32:20 is to be explained accordingly; מְצֹא would yield מְצָאֲכֶם, מָצְאֲכֶם, מָצָאֲכֶם and finally מֹצַאֲכֶם which latter virtually leads to *מֹצֶא). Still the long vowel will in course of time have drawn the accent upon itself; hence דְּמוּת, *דְּמוּכֶם, *דְּמוּ. Similarly שֶׁבְיְכֶם (*cf.* שֶׁבְיְךָ) is found by the side of שְׁבִיכֶם the parent form of שְׁבִי (*cf.* also פְּרִיהֶם to פְּרִי), and שֶׁבִי, פֶּרִי will go back to *שֶׁבִיכֶם, *פֶּרִיהֶם. So we have שְׁבִית and שִׁבְיָה.

FOURTH CLASS:

Hebrew עָשׂוּ Job 41:25 corresponds to Arab. عَدُوٌّ. The phonetic change will first have occurred in *עֲשׂוּכֶם = עֲשֻׂוְכֶם (*cf.* עִוְרִים from עִוֵּר) *cf.* عَدُوَّكُمْ. The kẹtīb forms עשוות 1 Sam. 25:18 and נטוות Isa. 3:16 are to be read עֲשֻׂוּוֹת and נְטֻוּוֹת. To *עֲשׂוּכֶם = עֲשֻׂוְכֶם will have corresponded in the feminine *עֲשׂוּתִי = עֲשֻׂוְתִי from which *עָשׂוּת ‖ עֲשֻׂוָּה. Hence to נְקִיָּה will have corresponded *נָקִית. In the plural, however, only one form was possible: עֲשֻׂוּוֹת, נְקִיּוֹת. Hence, by false analogy, plurals of this type were subsequently formed of feminines in ־וּת and ־ִית, no matter whether the *u* or *i* vowel was original or else due to principles of euphony: צְבִיּוֹת pl. of *צְבִית = the deflected צִבְיָה. צְבִיָּה is a later back formation. So is בֹּכִיָּה a back formation from בֹּכִיּוֹת plural of *בֹּכִית = the deflected בֹּכְיָה *cf.* עֹטְיָה. In מַרְבִּית and all of its type it is difficult to tell whether the vowel is organic. חֲנֻיּוֹת stands for חֲנֻוּוֹת as קִיֵּם for קִוֵּם; its sing. was חֲנוּת = חֲנֻוָּה inferred from Mishnic חֲנֻוָּנִי, the Syriac ܚܢܘܬܐ notwithstanding (*cf.* יְרִיעָה and ܝܪܝܥܬܐ; unless we take גָּלוּת

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forms as denominatives from participles = גָּל+וּת, גָּל representing that part of the form to which suffixes are appended, *cf.* גָּלִי = גָּל+י; but even then there is no reason why *חֲנוּת should not have been in use by the side of חֲנוּת; at any rate the latter form was not recognized by the Masora).

דְּמוּת GEN. 1:26.

The forms of the type דְּמוּת Gen. 1:26 are of interest to the biblical critic. As is well known, Wellhausen (*Prolegomena*, ed. 3, 407) quotes the occurrence of דְּמוּת in Gen. 1:26 as an *additional* argument against the pre-exilic origin of the Sacerdotal Code. Lagarde (*loc. cit.* 147 *sqq.*), after giving the literature on the subject, points out that the author may have meant דְּמוּת, a good Hebrew word, and that, if we speak of Aramaic influence, we can only lay it at the door of the later punctuator. To this we would say that there is no reason why we should reject the punctuation in this particular instance, especially after the flattering opinion given by the same scholar (*ibid* 132, 5–7); though we admit that no argument as to the date of a biblical writing can be based with certainty on the *mere* punctuation of a word. Thus we cannot say with Wellhausen that דמות is an Aramaic loan-word, for the reason that the argument must be taken from the vocalization—דְּמוּת; on the other hand, it seems we must admit that דְּמוּת is a later misreading, due to Aramaic influence. But suppose we found a דְּמוּת form spelled defectively—דמת, would not this fact help Wellhausen? Unfortunately פְּדֻת Ex. 8:19 is not certain consonantally. Suppose again we found it in the absol. state? Shall we read בְּרִית, a form analogous to דְּמוּת, wherever it occurs in the absol. state, *בְּרִית? בַּשְּׁבִית Num. 21:29, בַּשְּׁבִית? So it seems after all that, if דְּמוּת be Aramaic, the Aramaism will not be, as Lagarde expresses himself, of a *later* date. Still Wellhausen is not helped. For, as this paper I think has brought out conclusively, עֲצֶרֶת, מֵינֶקֶת are as much Aramaic as דְּמוּת and בְּרִית. The use of עֲצֶרֶת in the absol. state would preclude the reading *עַצֶרֶת, and מַתַּת, מַתָּת, בַּת would show the prevalence of the Aramaic method of inflection in Hebrew already at the time when the consonantal text was fixed; the word שׁת (=שָׁנָה)

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on the Mēša' Stone, line 2, would prove it for the eighth century before our era. The linguistic argument is everywhere a two-edged sword. The merits of the Wellhausenian theory lie elsewhere: its best argument—the reconstructed history of Israel (*cf.* Kittel, I., 90).

NOTE.—The sporadic occurrence of the T ending in Arabic (بِنْتٌ, أُخْتٌ, تَحْتَ) and its frequent use in Ethiopic (Dillmann, 219 *sqq.*) will have to be explained as due to the same processes which have been observed in Aramaic, *i. e.*, the method of Early Aramaic accentuation is Semitic. I leave it, however, to more competent scholars to decide this question.—I wish also to add that I have been able to use Dalman's excellent *Grammar of Jewish Palestinian Aramaic*, while revising this paper. Professor Koenig's *Lehrgebäude II.*, which reached me but lately, has, it seems, not rendered another revision of this paper necessary. The reader is referred especially to page 426. If the view expressed in the present Notes be correct, as the writer believes it is, Professor Koenig's observations under the letter a must be said to be inadequate. The book will recommend itself to biblical scholars as a welcome store-house of material, also on account of the thorough-going exegetical work underlying it; on the subject, however, with which we have been dealing here (and also on the cognate question of the origin of the "segolates"), the views expressed by the learned Professor (whose kind criticism of our first literary work we gratefully remember), it must be regretted, are untenable and represent the latest summary of the traditional doctrines the inadequacies of which it has been the aim of this paper to set forth.

HEBREW UNION COLLEGE,
April 8, 1895.

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THE SEMITIC NEGATIVE WITH SPECIAL REFERENCE TO THE NEGATIVE IN HEBREW.*

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LITERATURE.

The text used in the enumeration and citation of negative forms and constructions in the Hebrew and Aramaic of the Old Testament is that of *Myer Levi Letteris*, John Wiley and Sons, New York, 1892. On doubtful points comparison has been made, where possible, with the Baer and Delitzsch text, but it seemed best to base the work on a text already completed for the entire Old Testament. The quotations in Arabic are from the *Corani Textus Arabicus*, editit Gustavus Fluegel, Lipsiae, 1881. In addition the following books have been consulted constantly:

Gesenius, *Hebrew and English Lexicon of the Old Testament*, new edition, by Francis Brown, with the coöperation of S. R. Driver and C. A. Briggs. Boston, 1891, *sqq.*

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* A Dissertation presented to the Faculty of the Graduate School of Arts and Literature of The University of Chicago, May 5, 1895, in candidacy for the degree of Doctor of Philosophy.

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F. Max Müller, *Lectures on the Science of Language.* 2d series. London, 1864.
Strong, Logeman and Wheeler, *The History of Language.* London, 1891.
Halévy, *Mélanges d'épigraphie.* Paris, 1874.

INTRODUCTION.

The purpose of this article is

a. To present in comparative tables all the forms of negative particles or words used as such in the Semitic languages.

b. To classify these forms according to origin in (1) form, (2) fundamental idea, (3) syntactical usage.

c. To show the relation of different particles to each other in the same language and in different languages.

d. To trace the development and composition of certain negatives from more primitive forms and ideas.

e. To discuss some previous views as to origin and composition and offer some new explanations of forms.

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I.

OF THE NEGATIVE IN GENERAL.

Forms for the expression of the negative idea are found in every language. There is probably no negative idea that could not be expressed by some affirmative but circumlocutory formula; but the negative particle serves the purpose both of convenience and force, and in some forms is as old as language itself. It is, in fact, a necessity, and as language grows, the primitive negative differentiates or new forms are found to express new and different shades or degrees of force in the negative idea. Tracing this development historically we find its first expression in gesture, in which form it is found even before language begins, as may be noted in the development of the individual human being, is seen in the animal, and may be inferred for the human race if the theory of evolution be accepted. The kicking and balking of a horse, the growl of the dog when you approach to take from him his mutton-bone are emphatic expressions of dissent. The first is gesture pure and simple, like the shrug of the shoulder or the shake of the head in man. The growl of the dog might be called a vocal gesture, and is a second stage in the development of negative expression, a step toward a vocabulary which man in articulate language has carried to completion.*

In the mere animal, the negative is an expression of emotional dissent, in man it may be emotional or intellectual. As emotional, both gesture and voice by modifications and combinations, the shrug of the shoulders, the toss or shake of the head, the facial expression, the inflexion of the voice, may add to the idea of dissent the element of scorn, contempt, disgust or indignation. As intellectual, the idea of negation by use of a differentiated vocabulary may be modified to express relations of time as continuous, previous or subsequent (as in *never*, *not yet*, *no longer*, which are expressed in some languages by single primitive words), or of subordination, condition, contingency, etc. In man, therefore, we have the three steps in the expression of dissent or negation, the gesture, the natural impulse of the vocal

* On the chronological order of development of the affirmative and negative sentence, see *The History of Language*, by H. A. Strong, W. S. Logeman and B. I. Wheeler, p. 102.

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organs, and the intellectual choice of words in a more or less extended vocabulary. In this vocabulary of the negative, we are inclined to believe that in every language, at least in every group of related languages, there will be found at least one negative particle originating in this primitive natural impulse of the vocal organs expressing itself in what we have called the vocal gesture of dissent. The remaining particles have originated in ideas more or less closely associated with that of negation, or even from ideas originally quite unrelated. In accordance with this view we may classify the vocabulary of the negative under four heads:

a. Negative of pure dissent.
b. " by association of ideas.
c. " " transference of idea.
d. " " suggestion or attenuation.

The fuller explanation of these terms will appear in the classification of the Semitic negatives, but it is in order here to discuss the meaning and appropriateness of the first designation, the "negative of pure dissent."

The negative of pure dissent is the particle resulting from the vocal gesture of dissent. It might be expected that this particle, originating in the primitive natural impulse of the vocal organs, would be the same for all men, and be found common to all languages, but such is not the fact. We do find, however, in a particular group of languages a common negative stem, which by its appearance in all the members of the group, is shown to be the primitive negative for that family. Such a negative is found for the Indo-European family in the negative stem *n*, and in the Semitic family in the stem *l*, which appears in every member of the group. There may or may not be a connection between the two families and a significance in the fact that the negative in each is a liquid,* but the question why the Indo-European chose *n* and the Semitic chose *l* belongs back of philology to the realm of psychology, along with the question why among some peoples the common gesture of dissent is a sidewise shake of the head, while among others it is the backward toss. The Englishman and the Arab are agreed in expressing assent by a forward

* For the exchange of *yodh* for *lam* in Western Aramaic and Syriac, and for *nun* and *lam* in the Babylonian Talmud and Mandaic as preformatives of the imperfect, see Wright's *Comparative Grammar of the Semitic Languages*, p. 183.

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inclination of the head, and are agreed, too, that dissent is the opposite of assent, but the Englishman, regarding the gesture of assent as an up-and-down motion, finds the opposite in a right-and-left motion; while the Arab, regarding the affirmative as a forward and downward nod, finds its opposite in a backward and upward toss of the head. Can psychology explain this? Is it perhaps that in the Englishman's dissent there is more of deliberation, more of the intellectual, while in the Arab's dissent the emotional prevails, and the backward toss of the head expresses primarily that the offer or the proposition offends his pride or is beneath his notice? For the Arab, too, has a sidewise shake of the head, which is also intellectual, but with him expresses, not dissent, but doubt: "I do not understand the question, please repeat." This distinction, however, does not follow strictly the ethnic or linguistic lines of separation. The Greeks, perhaps through contact with Orientals, have adopted their gesture of dissent, as indicated in the words *κατανύω* and *ἀνανύω*, while the Armenians, belonging to the same family, though oriental in all their surroundings, have yet preserved the sidewise shake of the head. I am told by an Armenian friend, however, that among the Armenians also, the toss of the head as a negative gesture is assumed as a matter of fashion or coquetry for a short period by young brides and by girls of a marriageable age.

II.

In the following table a view is presented of the Semitic negatives arranged according to roots and in doubtful cases according to probable etymological relationship. The table does not claim to be complete, for some of the other languages if read with as broad an interpretation of the term *negative* might yield as large a list as the Hebrew; while in the Hebrew list are some whose claim to be called negatives might be disputed, such as the אֵם and מְדֵי, though their cognates in the Arabic cannot be disputed as negatives. Especially doubtful as to etymological relationship are the é and a-a of the Assyrian and an, ak, anbi and anbe of the Ethiopic, while the proper position, in the table, of Assyrian ul and Ethiopic albo is not certain

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Table A.—Comparative Table of Semitic Negatives.

HEBREW	ARABIC	ASSYRIAN	SYRIAC	BIBL. ARAM.	ETHIOPIC	PHŒNICIAN
לֹא, לוֹא	لَا	la, la-a (= lâ)	ܠܳܐ, ܠܳܘ	לָא		
	لَمْ					
	لَمَّا					
	لَنْ					
בְּלֹא	بِلَا, كَلَّا				(?) አልቦ	
	إِلَّا, أَلَّا					
	لَيْسَ	laššu	ܠܝܬ	לֵית		
אַל (אֶל)		(?) ul		אַל		אל
לוּלֵי+(א or י)				Talmudic		
אִי		a-a(?), ê(?)		אַי	ኢ—	אי
אַיִן, אֵין, אִין					እን, አከ እንሲ, እንብየ	Punic in Plautus en, yn
בַּל	بَلْ	balu(m)				בל, איבל
	بَلَى	ba-la				
בְּלִי						
בִּלְתִּי			ܒܠܥܕ			
בִּלְעֲדֵי						
טֶרֶם						
אֶפֶס						
זוּלָתִי						
פֶּן						
כִּי						
מָה	مَا					
אִם	إِنْ			אִם, אִן		
	لَكِنْ, لَكِنَّ			לָהֵן		
	غَيْرُ					
לוּ, לוּא	لَوْ		ܠܘܡ			
(?) מִן						

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Classifying the negatives according to the root ideas, we have the following table, illustrated most fully in the Hebrew. Where it is desired to represent a root that appears in different forms in several languages, we use English letters, and so also in treating of vowel sounds common to several forms:

Table B.—Psychological Distribution of Negatives.

a) Negative of pure dissent:
   1. Indo-European—*n*.
   2. Semitic—*l*.

b) Negative by association:
   1. Diminution or decay, בַּל from stem בלה *to waste away*.
   2. Cutting off, מֵרֶם.
   3. Cessation, אֶפֶס.
   4. Removal, זוֹלָת from root זול *to remove*.
   5. Change, פֶּן from stem פנה *to turn away*, غَيْرَ *other*.
   6. Separation, מִן (?)

c) Negative by transference of force:
   1. Conditional, Heb. אִם *if*, Arab. إِنْ *if*.
   2. Interrogative, Arab. مَا, Heb. אַיִן.

d) Negative by suggestion:
   1. Emptiness, רִיק.
   2. Vanity, הֶבֶל.
   3. Falsehood, שָׁוְא.
   4. Waste or desolation, תֹּהוּ.

   Cf. the implications in such English expressions as *almost*, *hardly*, etc.

III.

THE NEGATIVE OF PURE DISSENT.

Of the Semitic negatives, by far the most frequent and the one which alone is found in every language of the group is the simple particle of dissent or pure negation, of which the essential part is the consonantal sound *l*. That this is the essential element in all the score or more of forms in which it appears is shown in the great variety of vowels by which its pronunciation

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is assisted and by the fact that its vowel may be long or short and may follow or precede. Thus the vowel

is long in לֹא, לוּלֵי, لَا, لَيْسَ, كَلَّا, إِلَّا, أَلَّا, Assyr. la-a, ܠܳܐ, ܠܶܐ, ܠܳܐ, לָא, לֵית;

is short in אַל (אֶל), لَمْ, لَمَّا, لَنْ, אל(?) (Phœn.), Assyr. ul, and ኣልቦ;

is *a* in لَا, لَيْسَ, كَلَّا, إِلَّا, أَلَّا, ܠܳܐ, ܠܶܐ, ܠܳܐ, לָא, אַל, لَمْ, لَمَّا, لَنْ, אל(?) (Phœn.), ኣልቦ;

is *e* in לוּלֵי, לֵית; *ĕ* in אֶל, *u* in ul, and *ô* in לֹא.

It follows the consonant in most forms, but precedes in אַל, Assyrian ul, and ኣልቦ (albo).

The simplest form in which this negative appears is the Arabic لَا, which, though there is in it an *aliph* of prolongation, employs this only as a support for the *fatḥa*, for it is to be noted that in the colloquial, to which rather than to poetry we must go for analogies of primitive values, the word is as often pronounced short; and so always in بِلَا, where the accent, so far as it has any, falls on the first syllable. Without this supporting *aliph*, which is not a *hamza* though often sounded as such, the negative would consist of a single consonant with its vowel point standing alone, a combination that nowhere occurs in Arabic, a particle consisting of a single consonant and its vowel always attaching itself as proclitic or enclitic. The negative as proclitic is found in the Ethiopic ኢ and Hebrew אי and in Indo-European in-, un-, alpha privative, etc., but in Arabic would be liable to confusion with the prepositions or the لِ of the jussive or the asseverative لَ. A single consonant must attach itself to a following word or take a vowel letter, as in فِي and مَا, and ذُو, ذِي, ذَا. In Assyrian the syllable is in some cases definitely indicated as long by the repetition of the vowel (la-a), but elsewhere is undetermined. The Hebrew, Syriac and Biblical Aramaic always point it long in the forms in which the vowel follows the consonant, but it is to be remembered that this can at most indicate the usage in pronunciation at the time when the vowel points were invented, and while the Hebrew has adopted a sufficient variety

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of vowel points to indicate fine shades of distinction in its vowel sounds, the Syriac shows that the same pointing may in different branches of the language be given very diverse pronunciation, while the three vowel points of the Arabic, a comparatively late addition to the alphabetic writing, are quite inadequate to distinguish the variety of vowel sounds found in the spoken Arabic of today, and probably when invented, only roughly represented the three principal groups of vowel sounds then employed. The utter confusion of values in the English vowel system is an extreme illustration of what is true in a measure in Arabic, and though the Hebrew system of vowel points is more minute, it is an artificial system and can at best represent the pronunciation of Hebrew as it was at a comparatively late date, and possibly also over a limited area.* It can furnish no indication of primitive Semitic pronunciation nor decide, as against the phenomena of modern colloquial Arabic, that the particle *l* always employed a long vowel. The sound which we give to the Hebrew ḥôlĕm is as difficult for the modern Syrian Arab as French *u* is for an Englishman. It may have been equally so for the ancient Israelite, and the length of the vowel sound in the negative particle may have been determined as in the modern colloquial Arabic by the amount of emphasis thrown upon the word or the character of the emotion expressed.

The significance of the longer writing of the Assyrian particle, la-a, is not clear, nor that of the longer form of the Hebrew לוֹא. Does the longer form indicate anything as to length or emphasis in the original pronunciation, or is it in the Assyrian merely a scribal device for making the line come out right, or is it accidental in both, or is it a personal scribal characteristic? The following table and discussion on the Hebrew particle will present some of the facts, though they may discover no important principles. The most obvious fact is that the long form is found most frequently in composition with the interrogative particle הֲ. For comparison therefore the table gives the number of cases where the short form is found with הֲ and where the long form is found without הֲ including a few cases where it is found with the preposition בְּ.

* *Cf.* the local variations in pronunciation of the German affirmative particle *ja*.

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In the accompanying table it is seen that the long form occurs with הֲ interrogative 141 times, but the same הֲ takes the short form nearly as many times, namely 128, while the long form occurs without הֲ 35 times. From this it is evident that the particle הֲ does not determine the form of the negative. Is the long form then characteristic of certain (*a*) books, (*b*) authors, (*c*) periods of time or (*d*) qualities of style and subject matter, as poetical or prose, historical or liturgical?

Table C.—Occurrences of הֲלֹא, הֲלוֹא *and* לוֹא.

	הלא	הלוא	לוא
Gen. ...	5	8	1
Ex.....	3	1	...
Lev.....	...	...	1
Num....	6	2	...
Deut....	3	1	...
Josh....	1	2	...
Judg....	13	...	...
1 Sam...	...	20	2
2 Sam...	...	14	...
1 Kgs...	9	6	3
2 Kgs...	17	12	...
Isa.....	7	18	5
Jer.....	3	14	19
Ezek....	8	8	2
Hos.....	...	...	...
Joel....	...	1	...
Amos...	2	2	...
Obad....	...	4	...
Jon.....	...	1	...
Mic.....	...	5	...
Nah.....	...	...	...
Hab.....	...	4	...
Zeph....	...	...	...
Hag.....	...	1	...
Zech....	1	5	...
Mal.....	...	3	...
Ps.....	11	1	...
Prov....	3	1	...
Job.....	14	...	...
Cant....	...	...	...
Ruth...	2	2	...
Lam....	...	...	1
Eccles...	1	...	1
Esther..	...	1	...
Dan.....	...	...	...
Ezra....	...	1	...
Neh.....	...	3	...
1 Chron.	4	...	...
2 Chron.	15	...	...
Total...	128	141	35

As to (*a*) books, it is seen that in the compound, 12 books use only the long form, while 5 use only the short, or, leaving out those books in which the occurrence is so rare as hardly to be considered characteristic, and taking the two books of Samuel as one and the two books of Chronicles as one, we find that Judges, Job, and Chronicles use the short form exclusively, occurring respectively 13, 14, and 19 times, while Samuel is characterized by the exclusive use of the long form, occurring 34 times. But in 15 books both forms occur, some showing a preference for the one, some for the other. The distinction therefore can hardly be one of books.

Is the distinction (*b*) one of authorship? Ezekiel, which is confessedly the work of one author, uses the two forms in the compound impartially, 8 to 8. So also do Amos and Ruth, each 2 to 2. Jeremiah indeed shows a decided though not exclusive preference for the long form, 14 to 3, and in the uncompounded particle, uses the long form 19 times as against 5 times in the two Isaiahs, which

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make the next most frequent use of it. Testing the question on the commonly accepted documentary division of Isaiah we have the following table of occurrences, showing that both forms occur in each main section and often in close proximity: Long, 8:19; 28:25; 37:26; 40:21*; 42:24; 43:19; 44:20; 45:21; 48:6; 51:9, 10; 57:4; 58:6, 7. Short, 10:8, 9, 11; 29:17; 36:12; 44:8; 57:11. The distinction therefore cannot be one of authorship.

As to (*c*) period, we find that the widely separated books of Judges and Chronicles agree in the exclusive use of the short form, while Daniel (?), Ezra and Nehemiah, approximately contemporary with Chronicles, use only the long form.

As to (*d*) literary style and subject matter, we find that the prophets from Hosea to Malachi, with the exception of Amos and Ezekiel, who are impartial, and Hosea, Nahum and Zephaniah, who furnish no data, prefer the long to the short form, 56 to 11, while the wisdom literature of Psalms, Proverbs, Job and Ecclesiastes prefers the short form by 29 to 2. But on the other hand, Judges and Job, as diverse as possible, in these respects agree in the exclusive use of the short form, while Judges and Samuel, similar in subject matter, are at opposites, Samuel using only the long form. Equally fruitless is the effort to find any euphonic or syntactical distinction, as appears, *e. g.*, in Isa. 65:1,

נִדְרַשְׁתִּי לְלוֹא שָׁאָלוּ
נִמְצֵאתִי לְלֹא בִקְשׁוּנִי

where in the same verse, by the same author, in the same construction and practically the same euphonic conditions, we have the two forms. We are left to the conclusion therefore that in some books the long form is due to arbitrary scribal preference, and in others to scribal inconsistency and carelessness perpetuated by scribal scrupulosity, or else, wherever it occurs it was intended originally to indicate some emphasis whose force is now lost to us, the further definition of which in a dead language and in the absence of any direct ancient testimony, would be mere conjecture. The view that the long form is a less corrupted relic of an original triliteral verb form* fails to account for its preser-

* Presented by Dietrich in *Gesenius' Wörterbuch*, see לֹא, criticised by Böttcher, *Lehrbuch der hebräischen Sprache*, § 532, p. 340, footnote 1.

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vation in the same author and in close proximity with the shorter form, and there is no good ground for supposing that this negative particle ever was a noun.* To the question whether the noun or the verb was the earliest of the parts of speech the true answer is "neither; but the interjection," and in the negative particle *l* we have preserved one of the original interjections.

In the use of this common particle *l*, three members of the Semitic family, the Hebrew, Biblical Aramaic, and Phœnician have differentiated a form to distinguish between prohibition and deprecation, using for the latter the form אַל in which the vowel precedes the consonant. No such distinction is found in Arabic, Assyrian, Syriac, or Ethiopic. The explanation of the form lies, perhaps, in this, that a form beginning with a short vowel is less explosive than one beginning with a consonant and can less easily be prolonged for emphasis than one ending in a vowel. Hence its effect is milder and it serves to express the milder feeling of entreaty. In actual usage, however, the two forms are sometimes found in the same sentence with consecutive verbs or nouns where no distinction of force can be assumed, *cf.* Lev. 10:6. Where, as in this case, the לֹא follows the אַל, it might be considered a case of לֹא used to perpetuate another negative, a construction common enough with لا in Arabic, but extremely rare with לֹא in Hebrew. But in Prov. 27:2, where the negatives are used with nouns, we have the reversed order, from which we must conclude that in some cases, at least, no distinction is made. We have also two cases, Prov. 12:28 (with noun) and Cant. 7:3 (with verb) where, if the rendering of the Revised Version be accepted, אַל is not jussive but declarative.

It is with some hesitation that the Assyrian ul is classed with the *l* negatives. The word is usually considered as the construct state of a noun, ullu, "non-existence, nothingness," from a verb, alâlu, "be feeble, nought," *cf.* Zimmern, *Busspsalmen*, p. 83, and others.† But if אַל has any connection with לֹא, it seems equally probable that ul is another form of la from which it differs in usage even less than אַל from לֹא.‡ The particular force of ul has

* See to the contrary Gesenius-Kautzsch *Hebräische Grammatik*, § 100, 1.

† Delitzsch, *Assyrisches Wörterbuch*; Idem, *Prolegomena*, 133, Halévy, *Mélanges d'épigraphie*, 165.

‡ *Cf.*, however, Assyrian al in proper name Al-dugla-niše, II Rawl. 63c., 42.

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not been determined. Delitzsch is inclined to make the distinction that ul is used only in principal clauses while la is found in both principal and subordinate constructions and with all the parts of speech susceptible of negation.* The suggestion is due to Dr. Geo. R. Berry, of The University of Chicago, that there may be in ul an emphasis of contrast, the suggestion being based on several passages,—Tig.Pil. I., cols. 1:72; 5:38; 7:68, 70: Ašurnaṣ. 1:43, 108,—where the king in his treatment of a conquered city or the rebuilding of a temple does *not* follow the precedents: "that city (contrary to the usual custom) I did *not* destroy, devastate and burn with fire."

In Syriac, alongside of ܠ we find ܠܝܬ, a stronger negative compounded of ܠ and ܐܝܬ.

In Arab. ليس Syr. ܠܝܬ, Bib. Aram. לית and Assyr. laššu, we have compounds of this primitive *l* and the noun of existence *yēš*. The Aramaic of Daniel and Ezra fails to compound the two parts but has לא־איתי and the Hebrew has לֹא יֵשׁ and אֵין יֵשׁ. The Arabic, on the contrary, not only compounds the parts, but losing sight of the original character of the parts, treats the compound as a verb, defective indeed but capable of considerable inflection for person and number.

IV.

NEGATIVE BY TRANSFERENCE.

Under this term is included the use of the interrogative and conditional particles as negatives, represented by the Arabic مَا and إِنْ and the Hebrew אֵין and אִם.

The transition of a particle from an interrogative to a negative force is a process depending upon the frequency of a certain use of the interrogative known as the rhetorical question. The rhetorical question is one of the most emphatic means for conveying a positive idea, and even before the introductory particle has lost its interrogative character, the force of the sentence as a whole has become that of a negative assertion. Thus in English, "What have I done?" spoken in a tone of indignant surprise means emphatically, "I have done nothing (for which I should be

* Delitzsch, *Assyrian Grammar*, 1889, § 143, p. 352.

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blamed)." So in Hebrew, "Is thy servant a dog, that he should do this thing?" is an emphatic disclaimer of a disparaging imputation. In modern Arabic, a man excusing himself from some mishap, exclaims, šu beddi 'amil, "What did I (or, "do I") want to do?" = "What could I do (under the circumstances)?" the equivalent of the English plea, "I couldn't help it." In all these cases, it is the rhetorical question, expecting no answer because assuming that there can be but one answer, and hence very emphatic. The question for information may be very urgent, but can never be emphatic because by its very nature it implies doubt, an inquiring rather than an assertive state of mind. But the rhetorical question is used only where the speaker knows that there can be but one answer, and that one in accordance with his own view. Hence it is in force equivalent to a statement of axiomatic value, that is, a very positive and emphatic one. Hence the particle converted from this rhetorical interrogative use to do duty as a negative will be somewhat more emphatic than the ordinary negative. This will be shown in a discussion of the Arabic ما.

There is, however, another process by which the negative may be derived from the interrogative value. The interrogative may be, not substantive, but adverbial, *i. e.*, it may ask, not "what?" but "where?" or "how?" and this may pass into a negative force by the following process. So long as the query "where?" is in the mind, there is a consciousness of the absence or *notness* of the object sought, and the longer the query remains unanswered, the stronger becomes the sense of *notness*, and this sense of *notness*, at first local, if the search be continued long enough, will become a sense of absolute non-existence. Hence the sense of *whereness* and *notness*, inseparably associated, come in time to be identified, and the same particle may then serve as the sign of either. This has, in fact, occurred in the Semitic languages, and is possibly represented in the Hebrew particle אַיִן and its cognates.

The negatives derived from the interrogatives are all based upon the interrogative roots, *m* and *ay*. The former as a negative is confined to the Arabic, with possibly a few cases in Hebrew (*cf.* under מָה in Table E, Syntactical Constructions); the latter

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is most frequent in Hebrew and Ethiopic, and appears possibly in the Assyrian, but is not found in Arabic. We will first develop the negative of the *m* root.

A. *The Arabic Negative* ما.— Like the negative consonant *l* of pure dissent in the Indo-European, the interrogative root *m* is found with different vowels under different circumstances. For the impersonal or neuter it appears in Arabic as ما and for the personal as مَنْ, but this in the colloquial modern Arabic has also the pronunciation مِينْ with the *kesra* lengthened perhaps to distinguish it from the preposition مِنْ. In Hebrew we find it with the *a* vowel for the impersonal, מָה and the *i* vowel for the personal מִי. In this long *i*, the Hebrew corresponds to the colloquial Arabic, which raises the question whether both may not be a degeneration from the original *a* which the written Arabic has preserved in both personal and impersonal مَنْ and مَا.

Of these two forms, it is only the impersonal that has passed into the interrogative force. The reason for this is plain. There is indeed no logical reason why the rhetorical question, "*Whom* have I on earth beside Thee?" should not come to be read as a negative statement, "I have no one on earth beside Thee," as well as that the question, "*What* could I do?" should come to mean, "I could do nothing." But it must be remembered that the transition of the particle from the interrogative to the negative force depends entirely upon the frequency of its use, that is, the rhetorical question must be used so frequently as to become a stereotyped formula for a negative thought. The personal interrogative in rhetorical question has never attained to such frequent use as to become a stereotyped formula, and it is for the same reason that in Hebrew even the impersonal מה cannot be regarded as a negative except in the two places in Cant. 8:4, where the structure of the sentence for the sake of analogy with 2:7 and 3:5 demands it.

In treating this particle ما we note first that as distinguished from the adverbial and qualitative interrogative أَيّ, this is the substantive interrogative, and as such may be nominative or accusative, and as nominative may be either subject or predicate

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nominative, and as accusative may be the direct object or the second accusative appositive to the object, or the adverbial accusative.

The following cases from the Quran taken first as interrogative will illustrate these uses. Sur. 86:10 فما له من قوة (ولا ناصر). Neglecting the second part, we may read, "For what (is there) to him of power?" in which the ما is subject nominative, a rhetorical question which easily becomes the negative statement, "For he has no power," which is continued and determined as negative by the negative ولا ناصر "nor helper." Compare with this the similar construction in Hebrew, 1 Kgs. 12:16, מה־לנו חלק בדוד ולא־נחלה בבן־ישי where, however, we are to regard the first clause as remaining a rhetorical interrogative,* because the form is not so frequent in Hebrew as in Arabic, and the לא in Hebrew, unlike the لا in Arabic, is not used to continue another negative. Sur. 97:2, وما ادراك ما ليلة القدر "And what can show thee what the night of power is?" Here the first ما is plainly subject nominative to ادراك and has not departed from its interrogative force, since to do so would leave the verb without a subject; while the second ما is as clearly a predicate nominative to the nominal sentence of which ليلة القدر is the logical subject, and could not be rendered as a negative without breaking the connection of the clauses.

For ما as predicate nominative compare also Sur. 70:41 وما نحن بمسبو قين "And what are we among (or *as*) those prevented?" *cf.* German: Was für . . . . sind wir? Here the نحن is the logical subject and ما the predicate nominative, but the sentence becomes "We are *not* among those prevented."

Of the three accusative uses, that of the direct object is rare. In Sur. 53:3, وما ينطق عن الهوى "And what does he speak out of lust?" = "He never speaks out of lust," the ما is (originally) direct object of ينطق.

In the two clauses immediately preceding this, ما ضل صاحبكم وما غوى, "Your companion does not err nor does he go astray, the two ما's traced back in the same way to the rhetorical inter-

* *Cf.* also 2 Sam. 20:1, where אֵין is to be similarly explained.

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rogative give us adverbial accusatives, "*In what respect* does your companion err and *in what respect* does he go astray?" Here the original interrogative force of ما is attested by its use in the second clause, since had the first ما been merely a negative, it would more probably have been continued by لا. A good case of accusative of measure or cognate accusative is found in Sur. 74:49, فما ينفعهم شفاعة الشافعين "For what will the intercession of the intercessors avail them?" = the intercession of the intercessors will avail them nothing, will *not* avail them.

In this way most of the negative uses of ما may be traced back to the interrogative, but there remain a few in which the particle in the construction in which it stands cannot be rendered as interrogative because the sentence without it is fully supplied with all it can contain of subject and predicate nominative, and object and adverbial accusative. Thus in Sur. 74:34, وما يعلم جنود ربك الا هو "And not does anyone know the armies of thy Lord except He," the ما cannot be subject nominative because a personal subject is required; it cannot be predicate nominative because the verb is transitive; it cannot be object accusative because that is supplied by جنود; and there is no occasion for an adverbial accusative. The sentence therefore could not be originally a rhetorical question, and the ما could be nothing else than a negative. Here then is a clear case of ما as having become a negative before entering into the sentence. It has come to be a negative particle in and of itself, and capable of being used like لا in sentences that cannot be read as rhetorical interrogatives. Such extreme cases, however, are rare, and nearly all sentences with ما show a trace of their interrogative origin.

What now is the peculiar force of the negative ما as distinguished from لا. It has been customary to say, following the native grammarians, that ما is used with the perfect, generally of past time, and is more emphatic than لا. Thus Lansing* has "ما = not, negative of the absolute present and of the perfect." It has also been said that the restrictives† الا, etc., following a negative prefer the negative ما. But while this is true in

* Lansing, *An Arabic Manual*, § 72, p. 123.
† Ewald, *Grammatica Critica Linguae Arabicae*, Part II., pp. 201-3.

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many cases, it is too general and the exceptions are too numerous. ما is used freely with both the perfect and imperfect tenses and in speaking of past, present and future time. And as for الا, it is found more often, indeed, preceded by ما, but so frequently by ان and sometimes by لا, that we can hardly suppose that it is the الا that calls for a ما, but something further back than the mere presence of a restrictive. We must find some more fundamental distinction between ما and لا. The following examples will show how varied is the use of ما as to form of verb used and time referred to, and will serve as a means by which to arrive at the basal principle.

1. With perfect tense of past time, Sur. 67:10, ما كنا في اصحاب السعير "We would not have been among the fellows of the blaze." Sur. 53:11, ما كذب الفواد ما راى "The heart did not belie what it saw," referring to a definite past event. Sur. 53:17, ما زاغ البصر وما طغى "The sight did not turn aside nor waver," referring to an incident of Muḥammad's vision.

2. With perfect tense of present time (?) Sur. 26:208, وما اهلكنا من قرية الا لها منذرون "And we never destroy (Palmer), destroyed (Sale), a town except it has (had) warners." For a clearer case, in which Palmer and Sale are agreed in rendering the verbs in the present, and the parallelism supports this rendering, we have Sur. 53:2, ما ضل صاحبكم وما غوى "Your companion does not err, nor does he go astray." In v. 3 the thought is carried out with ما and the imperfect, وما ينطق عن الهوى "nor does he speak out of lust." The words occurring at the opening of the surah are an assertion of the prophet's veracity and credibility with reference, not to some past occasion, but to what he is about to say; hence we may fairly assume that present time is intended and that the three verbs, two in the perfect and one in the imperfect, are used without distinction.

3. With imperfect referring to present time Sur. 67:19, ما يمسكهن الا لرحمن "Not does there hold them (the birds) up, except the Merciful."

4. With imperfect referring to the future, Sur. 92:11, وما يغنى عنه ماله اذا تردى "And not shall his wealth avail him

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when he falls down" (into hell), referring to the day of judgment, hence, evidently future, *cf.* also Sur. 74:49 above.

In nominal sentences, also, the ما is used with equal freedom as to time, though for the past for definiteness we usually find the verb كان expressed, as in Sur. 67:10, ما كنا فى اصحاب السعير where we might have had ما نحن but for the ambiguity as to time.

In the present we have, Sur. 81:25, وما هو بقول سيطان رجيم "And it is not the word of a pelted devil." In the future, Sur. 82:16, وما هم عنها بغابيين "And they will not be among the absent from it," *i. e.*, from the broiling in hell on the judgment day.

From the above and similar passages we find that ما is used with the perfect tense for present and past time, with the imperfect for present and future time and in nominal sentences for present and future time. The distinction between ما and لا therefore has primarily nothing to do with the tense used or the time referred to, but must be sought in the nature, *i. e.*, in the original force, of the particle itself. We shall find that all the phenomena of ما, the tenses used, its preference for present and past time, its greater emphasis as compared with لا, are sufficiently explained by its origin as an interrogative and its transition to the negative force through the rhetorical question.

The rhetorical interrogative as a substitute for a positive assertion of a fact is a stronger method of conveying the thought, but can be safely resorted to only where the facts are so well known or at least are so far matter of general consent that the speaker can be reasonably sure that the answer, should one be returned, would accord with the impression he intends to convey. If he is addressing his own partisans, he may venture the rhetorical question with more freedom than in speaking to opponents. Such a question answered in the affirmative when a negative answer is called for would be fatal to the purpose of the speaker.

On what classes of facts now, may a speaker venture to put his teachings in the interrogative form? There are two such classes, (*a*) facts of the past and present of which his hearers may reasonably be supposed to have positive historical knowledge

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or present experience, including such facts in revealed religion as have had their event in the past, which, though not matter of human experience, have yet been accepted with equal positiveness as facts, *cf.* Sur. 74:30, and (*b*) general truths holding good for all time and doctrines as to the future on which there is a general consensus in the moral and religious consciousness of the hearers.

Of course in either of these cases the speaker in his confidence in his own position may be led to substitute his own assurance for that of his hearers, as when in Sur. 53:17 the prophet relates with great positiveness the details of his vision, forgetting that these could not be matters of experience with his followers nor of general acceptance as history, but relying on the unquestioning faith of his followers in himself as sufficient to inspire them with as much assurance as personal experience could have furnished.

As illustrative of confidence in historical facts the prophet in Sur. 39:51, referring to the destruction of Thamud and Ad, exclaims, فما اغنى عنهم ما كانوا يكسبون "What then did that avail them which they had been engaged in acquiring?" It was an unquestioned tradition that the tribe of Thamud had amassed great wealth. It was equally certain that a terrible destruction had befallen them. Hence the conclusion followed that their wealth was of no avail, and to the prophet's question, "Did that wealth save them?" there could be but one answer, "Most assuredly not."

So also in regard to the fate of the unbelievers at the judgment day, Muhammad, using the imperfect tense in this case, could ask with assurance, "What will the intercession of the intercessors avail them?" and again, "What will his wealth profit him when he falls down (into hell)?" To these also there could be but one answer, "Nothing"; for free grace at the judgment day is something unknown to Islâm, and no doctrine is more emphasized in the Quran than that the awards of the future life will be apportioned strictly in accordance with what men have deserved by their conduct in this life, so that neither intercession nor wealth will have influence on the decision. (*Cf.* Dr. Chas. C. Torrey's *Commercial-Theological Terms in the Qur'ân.*)

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We can now see why, as the grammars have noticed, ما is found more frequently with past and absolute present time, and is more emphatic than لا. It is more emphatic because the rhetorical question in which it originated is a more emphatic way of conveying a negative idea than the simple negative sentence; and it is found more frequently with the past and absolute present, not because the particle as such prefers one tense or time rather than another, but because matters of history and present personal experience can be more safely appealed to than matters still in the future, and offer a wider range of facts. The future is, of necessity, less certain than the present and past, and it is only where faith gives to the future something of the reality of experience, that ما can properly be used of future time.

It cannot be maintained, however, that this distinction is always in the author's mind where ما is found. Even in the Quran there are found such sentences as Sur. 39:67, وما قدروا الله حق قدره "But they have not rated God at his true power," where it is difficult to cast the thought in an interrogative form, or to see any special force in the negative. In later writings and in colloquial Arabic we must expect to find ما and لا used with still less discrimination; yet even here, trained and careful writers and speakers, though ignorant of the basis of distinction, will feel a difference and instinctively choose the proper particle according to this law which the grammarians have roughly formulated.

In this discussion of the Arabic ما, we have illustrated the principal steps by which an interrogative particle undergoes transition to a negative force. The transition of ما from the interrogative to the negative is very simple and direct, involving only two steps, (*a*) the transition of force and (*b*) the forgetting of the original force so far as to allow the use of the particle as a negative in constructions where the interrogative could not stand. Here with ما the process stops, and as a negative it never becomes anything more than the particle *not*. We will now follow out a similar process in the Hebrew, in which there are more steps, and where the interrogative particle not only becomes a negative particle, but even a noun of *nothingness*.

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B. *The Hebrew Negative* אַיִן.—Of the three interrogative stems, *m*, *ay*, and *ha* or *a*, while the Arabic has developed a negative from the substantive interrogative *m*, the Hebrew has chosen for the same process the qualitative interrogative *ay*, from which it has developed a negative which occurs quite as frequently in Hebrew as the ما in Arabic. This negative is אַיִן, construct state אֵין. To obtain this form, the Hebrew has added an element *n* to the stem *ay*, and welded the two together so thoroughly as to lose sight of the original parts and to treat the compound as a simple stem, as the Assyrian and Syriac seem to have treated in the same manner some ת formations of verbs, and as the Arabic has undoubtedly dealt with the *l* and *yêš* in its inflection of ليس. The derivation of the Hebrew אַיִן from the stem *ay* is not, therefore, so simple as that of the negative ما from the stem *m*.

Two principal explanations have been given of the negative אַיִן. The first is that of the school of Gesenius, which seeks to find for every form a nominal or verbal root, as in its attempt to make the particle לֹא a relic of some noun* or triliteral verb,† and the Assyrian ul, a contraction of the verb alâlu, to be feeble, nought, and also finds wherever it can a relation between Semitic and Aryan roots. In accordance with the first purpose, it bases אַיִן upon a hypothetical root אוּן, and by reversing the radicals connects it with the extant verb נוּא, *to say "no,"* and perhaps with נוּעַ, *to nod*, which is found possible on the analogy of the Indo-European *ne* and *in-* or *no* and *un-*. In pursuance of the second tendency it makes this נוּא and אוּן to be related to the Indo-European negative stem *n*.‡ It then drops the ן from אַיִן to get the form אַי on the analogy of the *a* privative from *αν* in Greek, and even goes so far as to derive the interrogatives אַיֵּה and أي from the negative by dropping the ן.

The second explanation has been presented clearly by Böttcher‖ who rightly finds the basis of אַיִן in the interrogative stem *ay* but with some hesitation accounts for the ן as a nunnation.

*Mitchell's *Gesenius' Hebrew Grammar*, 1893, p. 255, and Gesenius-Kautzsch, *Hebräische Grammatik*, 1878, § 100, 1.

†Dietrich in Gesenius' *Wörterbuch*, criticised by Böttcher, *Lehrbuch der hebräischen Sprache*, § 532, p. 340, footnote 1.

‡Böttcher's *Lehrbuch der hebräischen Sprache*, § 532.

‖*Ibid.*

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This derivation from the interrogative is adopted in Driver and Brown's new edition of *Gesenius' Lexicon** where, however, no explanation is attempted for the ן.

Before offering a third explanation, it is in order to point out the objections to these two views. The old view of Gesenius is open to suspicion as a forced attempt to explain the form in accordance with an assumption that all forms of speech necessarily have their origin in either nominal or verbal roots, an assumption sufficiently answered in our discussion of the origin of לֹא. The attempt to see in the three letters of אין the radicals of a triliteral root can at best carry the derivation back no further than the triliteral stage of the language, which is a late stage arrived at only by a process such as is still going on in English in the adoption of regular preterites for irregular verbs and regular plurals for irregular nouns. Again, to identify the ן with the *n* of the Indo-European negative, and after thus making it a radical and the strongest one in the triliteral root, to allow the dropping of it on the analogy of the dropping of the *ν* from *ἀν-* in *α* privative of the Greek is quite unwarranted; first, because the *n* of the Indo-European has its counterpart in *l*, not in אין; secondly, because the *ν* of *αν* in Greek and Sanskrit was originally not a true consonant but merely a nasal vowel like final *n* in French, the nasal quality of which was more or less pronounced according as it was followed by a vocal or consonantal sound, and the dropping of which was done in accordance with well defined euphonic laws; while the presence or absence of the *n* in אין and its cognates אי of the Hebrew, אי of the Phœnician, *yn* and *en* in the Punic of Plautus, and the ኢ (?) and the እን (?) of the Ethiopic, is not conditioned by euphonic laws. The same is equally true when the negative has passed, as Gesenius would have us believe, into the interrogative.† The impossibility, on psychological grounds, of the transition in this direction, from the negative to the interrogative, will be shown later, and it being possible, the *n* of the interrogative (*cf.* Heb, מאין, Isa. 39:3 and Arab. اين) must be otherwise accounted for.

Böttcher's explanation of ן as a nunnation‡ is unsatisfactory

* See under אין.

† Gesenius-Rödiger, *Hebrew Grammar*, ed. by Conant, pp. 272 *sq.*

‡ Böttcher, *Lehrbuch der hebräischen Sprache*, § 532.

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because it fails to explain how an interrogative could receive the nunnation, while the admission that the element *ay* is the interrogative connects it at once with the Arabic اى and hence with اين in which the ن followed by a vowel certainly cannot be the nunnation.

What then is the *n* in אַיִּן? Accepting as the basis of the form the interrogative element *ay*, for reasons that will be given later, the most reasonable view as to the *n* is that it is neither the *n* of negation* nor the *n* of indefiniteness but the demonstrative *n* which by a common psychological process appears both in Indo-European and Semitic; in the former in Sanskrit *nu*,† Gr. *νῦν*, Latin *nunc* and English *now;* and in the latter, in Heb. הִנֵּה and the precative particle נָא, and in the Arabic اين, and هنا and possibly in the energetic form of the verb. This particle *nu* in Sanskrit is appended with an intensive or precative force to the interrogative,‡ as in *ko-nu, who now? who pray?* It has the same force in נָא appended to the verb in the Hebrew precative sentence and in doubtful and courteous question.

The interrogative in Hebrew can easily take on this precative particle, yet it can as easily omit it without affecting the form of the question. Whether it should be used or not would depend therefore originally upon the earnestness of the speaker, but later might become so stereotyped as to lose its special force. This would depend upon the habit of mind of the people as a whole, so that it might prevail more among the Hebrews than the Phœnicians, just as the rhetorical question with *m* prevailed more among the Arabs than among the Hebrews, so that with the former it became stereotyped as a negative while with the latter it failed to do so.

Beginning then as אַיֵּה־נָא = אַי־נָא and اين, we have the vowel of the *n* preserved in both. But as the Hebrew lost its case endings, so this vowel also, being unprotected, was lost, the more so because the *n* could, though with difficulty, fall back upon the preceding diphthong, giving the form אַיִן. A similar loss of the final vowel in colloquial Arabic reduces the أَيْنَ to

* For the contrary view see Ewald, *Hebrew Grammar*, tr. London, 1836, p. 288.

† Whitney, *Sanskrit Grammar*, § 504, and Lanman, *Sanskrit Reader*, pp. 138 and 200. *Cf.* also, Lindsay, *The Latin Language*, p. 615.

‡ Lanman, *Sanskrit Reader*, p. 138; Whitney, *Sanskrit Grammar*, § 504.

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اينّ, pronounced *āyn*, but unspellable in Arabic because the vowel system has not been sufficiently developed to indicate the sound of Hebrew *çērê* to which this exactly corresponds. This is often further corrupted in the modern colloquial, perhaps by metathesis of *yodh*, to *wāyn* and this sometimes still further to *fāyn* (*cf.* the opposite movement of ϝ in Greek as it weakens from the sound of *f* or *v* to *w* and finally disappears). But since the form אַיִן, in which the *yodh* still has something of consonantal force, is not agreeable to the Hebrew ear, the *yodh* must find a helping vowel after the manner of the so-called segholates, or change the vowel before it for one with which it can coalesce into a pure vowel sound. This leads to one of three forms. Either (*a*) the *yodh* takes as a helping vowel its cognate vowel *ḫīrĕq*, giving the form אַיִן or (*b*) there is a modification of the preceding *păthăḥ* to *çērê* with which the *yodh* more easily coalesces, giving the form אֵין, which being shorter serves for the construct state and exactly corresponds in sound to the unspellable colloquial Arabic *āyn*, or (*c*) the preceding *păthăḥ* is heightened to *qāmĕç*, and the *yodh*, changed to *waw*, takes for its helping vowel *seghol*, giving the form אָוֶן.

We have then from this interrogative stem *ay* and the precative or demonstrative *na* the forms أَيْنَ (colloquial اينّ, وينّ, فينّ) איה־נא, אַיִן, אֵין and אָוֶן, of which the last three have passed into the negative force. To these, as negatives of cognate origin, we may add the Phœnician *yn* and *en* (Punic dialect in Plautus)* and probably the Ethiopic እን, አኮ (for አንኮ) አንሲ and እንብየ; and from the same stem *ay* without the *na* we have the Heb. אִי (rare), Talmudic אַי, Phœnician אי (no pointed Phœnician texts have been found by which to determine the voweling) and the first part of the compound איבל, Ethiopic ኢ and possibly the Assyrian a-a and ê.

Having traced the development of the form of אין, it needs but a few words to trace the transition of the idea from the interrogative to the negative force. The process is the same as in the case of ما, but while in ما the transition is made through the rhetorical question using the substantive interrogative *what?*

* Schroeder, *Die Phönizische Sprache*, 1869, p. 211, § 116, *b*.

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in אַיִן, it is developed from the qualitative or adverbial *where?* and not only through the rhetorical question, but possibly also through the question for information. The former, however, is certainly the more common and gives the more direct transition. The rhetorical question, Isa. 33:18*b*, אַיֵּה סֹפֵר אַיֵּה שֹׁקֵל אַיֵּה סֹפֵר אֶת־הַמִּגְדָּלִים "Where is he that took account, where is he that weighed (the tribute), where is he that counted the towers?" conveys in strongest terms the exultant thought of the speaker that the Assyrian who had come up against the city is gone, is destroyed, in short, *non est.*

In a less direct way, the אַיְדְּנָא that asks for information may become אָוֶן, *whereness*, which implies the absence or the nothingness or the emptiness and gives us by successive steps the אַיִן of nothingness and the אָוֶן of vanity, worthlessness and sin. This transition of an adverbial interrogative to a substantive force is seen in English in such a sentence as, I know neither the *how*, nor *why*, nor *when*, nor *where* of it. From its origin in an adverbial interrogative of place, it comes to be that אַיִן is primarily a negative of *existence* rather than of *action*, and is therefore found most commonly and properly with nominal rather than with verbal forms. The development of the negative from *ay* has been carried much further than that from *m*, and appears in several languages, while that from ما is confined with few exceptions to the Arabic. For a full presentation of their development in Hebrew, see the Table E, Syntactical Constructions.

The theory that makes the negatives אַיִן and ما to be related to the interrogative particles in the reverse order,* that is, that the interrogatives were derived from the negative particles, which has been shown to be etymologically improbable, can be shown to be psychologically impossible. This has been done briefly by Böttcher in his *Lehrbuch der hebräischen Sprache*, § 532 *sq.* Taking the simple sentence אַיִן הוּא, and reading the אַיִן as the rhetorical interrogative אַיְדְּנָא, "where, pray, is he?" the implication is evident that *he is not*, as in the challenge of the Rabshakeh, 2 Kgs., 18:34, "Where are the gods of Hamath and Arpad?" If now we read the אַיִן as originally negative, *he is not*,

*Gesenius-Rödiger, *Hebrew Grammar*, ed. by Conant, pp. 272 *sq.*

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we may by the proper inflection indicate a question, *he is not?* = is he not? but the question relates only to the existence of the person; it asks nothing as to the *where?* The answer can only be "yes" or "no." But the interrogative אַיֵּה, or, as in 2 Kgs. 20:14, מֵאַיִן יָבֹאוּ, "whence do they come?" and the Arabic أَيْنَ, *where?* can never be answered by "yes" or "no." Being an adverbial interrogative, it calls for an adverbial answer. "Where is he?" asked with rhetorical inflection can easily and naturally suggest, *he is not*; but "not is he?" can never by inflection or by re-arrangement of the order of the words suggest the thought, *where is he?*

The same reasoning applies to the substantive interrogative ما. The sentence, ما ضرب زيد, "What did Zeid (ever) strike," with the proper rhetorical emphasis means, "Zeid has not (ever) struck (anything);" but the same sentence rendered originally as negative, "Zeid has not struck," can never by change of inflection or of order of words call for a substantive answer, which it must do if rendered, "What has Zeid struck?" Examples might be given to show that this holds equally good whether the ما be subject or predicate nominative, or object or adverbial accusative.

V.

THE SEMITIC CONCEPT OF NONENTITY.

Prof. Max Müller, in his *Lectures on the Science of Language*, 2d series, pp. 344–7, is at some pains to show that abstract nothingness was inconceivable to the human mind until the theologians invented it for use in their discussions on eschatology, and made annihilation their bugbear with which to frighten men into being good. In demonstration of this he arrays certain facts in Indo-European philology to show that the nearest approach that language could make to expressing nonentity was by taking the smallest conceivable concrete thing or actual existence, and then denying that object or existence. Hence all words expressive of non-existence in the Indo-European stock are necessarily compounds. Thus in English, *nothing* = *no thing* and *none* = *no one;* in French, *ne . . . rien* = Latin *ne . . . rem*, "not a thing" and *ne . . . . point* = Latin *ne . . . .*

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punctum, "not a point;" in Italian, *niente* = Latin *ne* . . . . *ens* for *essens*, "not being;" in Latin, *nihil*, from which *annihilation*, = *ne filum*, "not a thread," by change of *f* to *h* frequently seen in Spanish words borrowed from the Latin; in Greek, οὐδέν; and in Sanskrit, *asat* = *a* privative and *sat* = Latin *sens* or *ens*, "being."

The position seems well sustained by the Indo-European philology, but if Professor Müller had looked at the Hebrew, he would have found that the Semitic mind, whether early or late, whether in the clergy or the laity, grasped the idea of abstract nonentity immediately and expressed it by its simplest uncompounded negative particles. Moreover, in Hebrew the terms are not used eschatologically. It must be admitted that the simple negative particles לא and אל occur but rarely as substantives, but this is because לא and אל are primarily negatives of *action*, not of *being*, whereas for the idea of nonentity a negative of entity is wanted. This the Hebrew finds in its אין, which, though a compound indeed as an interrogative, is as a negative to be considered a simple form, since the compounding took place previous to its reaching the negative stage. The Hebrew, therefore, has expressions which for brevity and directness correspond, not to our roundabout *nothingness*, *no-thing-ness*, but to our *not-ness*. The following are examples of the simple negative so used, Isa. 55:2:

לָמָּה תִשְׁקְלוּ כֶסֶף בְּלוֹא לֶחֶם
וִיגִיעֲכֶם בְּלוֹא לְשָׂבְעָה

"Wherefore do ye spend money for the nothing (or notness) of bread, and your labor for nothing for satisfying." Here if any should prefer to take the לא לחם as a compound like לא דבר = no-thing, or like the peculiar expressions, לא־עמי and לא־רחמה of Hos. 1:6, 9; we have yet the second phrase in which the ל before שׂבעה cuts it off from compounding with לוא and leaves the latter to stand by itself as a noun of nothingness in the absolute state. Dan. 4:32, וכל דארי ארעא כלה חשיבין, "All the inhabitants of the earth are reputed *as nothing*." Job 24:25, מי יכזבני וישם לאל מלתי "Who will make me out a liar and put my words *to naught?*"

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Isa. 41:12, יהיו כאין "They shall be *as naught.*"

Isa. 41:24, הן אתם מאין "Behold, ye are of *nothing.*"

Amos 5:5, ובית אל יהיה לאון "And Bethel shall come to *nothingness.*"

In addition to this use of the simple negative particle to express *nothingness*, the Hebrew employs in great variety verbal nouns such as תהו, אפס, אתע, הבל, ריק and בלתי to suggest the same idea, and also uses compounds in the same way as the Indo-European, as לא דבר and בלימה of Job 26:7 = *no-thing*, though in such cases more often the לא is separated from the noun by the verb or even by the entire remainder of the sentence, as in the very common constructions כל . . . לא, איש . . . לא and דבר . . . לא.

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Table D.—Occurrences of Negatives in the Old Testament.

	לא (10)	אין (18)	לא	בלתי	לבלתי	אל	בל	בלא	בלתי	בלתי	בלום	בלום	בלא	בלי	בלי	בלי	בלי	בלי	בלי	בלי	בלי
Gen. ...	212	..	39	1	36	..	..	1	8	3	10	2	..	17	..	4	..	1	..	3	10	10
Ex.	244	..	19	..	22	..	..	1	5	..	4	..	..	13	..	..	..	..	..	1	2	8
Lev. ...	282	..	11	..	21	..	..	..	3	..	1	..	..	1	..	..	..	..	..	..	3	..
Num. ..	188	..	14	..	19	..	..	..	7	1	1	2	..	3	..	1	..	..	..	..	..	2
Deut. ..	408	..	21	1	30	..	..	4	7	..	1	2	..	28	1	..	..	..	..	3	5	20
Josh....	98	..	20	..	5	..	..	1	9	1	2	..	..	3	1	..	..	..	..	..	9	15
Judg. ..	132	..	16	1	27	..	..	-2	4	..	1	1	..	5	..	..	..	2	..	2	..	7
1 Sam...	198	..	25	1	33	2	..	-6	2	..	5	..	..	7	1	5	..	2	..	2	8	2
2 Sam...	130	..	23	1	15	..	..	-4 (5)	3	2	..	2	..	6	1	6	..	..	..	..	6	..
1 Kgs...	177	..	13	..	25	..	..	-3	3	..	..	..	..	..	2	5	..	..	..	1	7	11
2 Kgs...	178	..	23	1	20	..	..	3	5	1	2	2	..	2	1	7	..	1	..	1	15	10
Isa.....	432	..	43	1	91	..	24	6	5	6	7	13	1	3	4	3	..	22	..	..	5	1
Jer.	510	1	89	..	89	..	..	4	25	1	4	..	..	8	..	1	..	21	..	1	15	2
Ezek....	335	..	14	..	24	..	..	2	15	..	1	..	..	..	..	9	..	..	..	..	..	..
Hos.	67	..	7	..	15	..	2	4	1	..	..	..	..	1	1	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
Joel....	12	..	4	..	3	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
Amos...	72	..	2	..	5	..	..	..	2	..	..	2	..	1	..	1	..	..	..	1	2	1
Obad...	4	..	8	..	1	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
Jon.....	9	..	5	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
Mic	29	..	6	..	6	..	..	..	..	..	..	1	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	1	..
Nah....	9	..	..	..	7	..	..	-2	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
Hab....	21	..	..	..	3	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
Zeph. ..	25	..	2	..	3	..	..	2	..	..	3	1	..	..	..	..	..	4	..	..	..	..
Hag.....	4	..	1	..	5	..	..	..	..	..	1	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
Zech. ..	51	..	7	..	4	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	4	..	..	1	..
Mal	19	..	1	..	6	..	..	1	..	..	..	..	..	1	..	..	..	1	..	..	..	..
Ps.....	329	..	122	6	66	..	30	-2 (6)	..	1	4	1	..	9	1	3	..	3	..	1	2	1
Prov....	134	..	89	..	37	..	10	-2	..	..	3	2	..	17	..	..	..	..	..	..	2	1
Job.....	290	..	24	..	29	1	..	18	1	1	1	1	..	1	..	3	..	7	..	..	..	..
Cant....	11	..	2	..	5	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	2	..	..	..	..	..
Ruth. ..	18	..	8	..	1	..	..	..	3	..	1	..	..	1	1	..	..	1	..	1	1	..
Lam. ..	39	..	5	..	11	..	..	1	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	2	..	..	..	..
Eccles..	65	..	21	..	44	..	..	1	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	1	3	..
Esth...	28	..	4	..	10	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	3	..
Dan.	45	69	6	..	9	..	..	..	2	..	..	1	..	..	..	..	..	..	2	..	..	..
Ezra ...	15	12	2	..	4	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	1	..	..	..
Neh....	64	..	9	..	11	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	2	..	..	..	..	2	..
1 Chron.	53	..	7	..	9	..	1	..	1	..	..	..	..	1	1	..	..	..	..	1	3	..
2 Chron.	156	..	20	..	25	..	..	-1	1	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	3	4	6	11
Total...	5093	82	732	13	776	3	67	76	82	17	52	33	1	128	15	54	2					

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NOTES ON TABLE OF OCCURRENCES.

לֹא. The enumeration includes all cases where other spellings, as לוֹ (1 Sam. 2:20) and לֹה (Deut. 3:11) are used for לֹא, all compounds of לֹא as הֲלֹא, בַּלֹא and לָלֹא and both long and short forms. It includes also its occurrences in the asseverative אִם לֹא, though its negative force is lost in the rendering "surely." It does not include לֹא = lâ.

אֵל includes also the two occurrences of אֶל (Isa. 37:10;* Jer. 51:3) and two of עַל for אֵל (2 Kgs. 23:18; Ezek. 9:5).

אִין includes אַיִן and אַיִן, but no case of אוֹן or אַי.

בַּל includes all cases where it has the meaning *not, lest* or *but* adversative, but not cases where it is merely affirmatively intensive = surely.

בְּלִי includes its use in the compound בְּלִיַּעַל, the number of such occurrences being indicated by a figure preceded by hyphen, to be understood as included in the larger figure when there are two. It includes also the one occurrence of בְּלִימָה (Job 26:7) and all compounds with prepositions.

בִּלְתִּי includes all forms of this in composition with the prepositions לְ, מִן, etc., and the case rendered "only" or in margin of R. V. "without me" (Isa. 10:4).

אֶפֶס includes the occurrences of the verb אָפֵס, to *not be*, the conjunction אֶפֶס כִּי *except that*, the use with pronominal suffixes as אֶפְסִי and as noun of *nothingness*, but does not include its use as a concrete noun as in אֶפְסֵי אֶרֶץ *ends of the earth*, and אֶפְסִים *extremities, i. e.*, hands and feet.

אֶפֶס occurring but once (Isa. 41:24) is probably a corruption of אֶפֶס.

אִם includes only those occurrences where, though originally a conditional particle, it now has the force of a negative after formulæ of asseveration expressed or implied. It does not, however, include the אִם of אִם לֹא which, though of the same origin and force originally, becomes in connection with לֹא equivalent to the affirmative "surely." See note on לֹא.

מָה. The occurrence of מָה in rhetorical question is analogous to the use of ما in Arabic, but occurring far less frequently, can hardly be said to have become sufficiently common and stereotyped to have lost its original interrogative force. In two cases, however, Cant. 8:4, it replaces in similar construction the אִם's of 2:7 and 3:5 which have the force of negative particles in adjuration. This seems the only case where we can fairly render מָה as a negative in the Hebrew.

מִן. אֲבָל. כִּי. כִּי אִם. רַק. The classification of these particles as negatives or adversatives being in many cases a matter of interpretation and opinion, the table enumerates only those cases that seem least

* Pointed with *pathaḥ* in the Baer and Delitzsch text.

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doubtful, and they are not summarized. Thus, מִן is originally partitive or comparative and after a verb implying separation must be rendered "from," as in the sentence "he prevented them *from speaking*." But in the sentence, Isa. 5:6, עַל הֶעָבִים אֲצַוֶּה מֵהַמְטִיר "I will command the clouds not to rain," the privative force is not so apparent in the principal verb, *will command*, and the particle may be rendered as negative. So also in the case of the other particles, the exact value in some cases is not determined and the enumeration cannot be definite.

Table E.—Syntactical Constructions of the Hebrew Negative.

לֹא

1. With finite verb, perf., Gen. 2:5, לֹא הִמְטִיר יְהוָה אֱלֹהִים
2. " " " imperf. declarative, Isa. 39:6, לֹא יִוָּתֵר דָּבָר
3. " " " " strong jussive, Gen. 2:17, לֹא תֹאכַל מִמֶּנּוּ
4. " " " " weak jussive, continuing אַל, Lev. 10:6, רָאשֵׁיכֶם אַל תִּפְרָעוּ וּבִגְדֵיכֶם לֹא תִפְרֹמוּ
5. With finite verb, in asseveration = אִם, Ezek. 14:18, חַי־אָנִי נְאֻם אֲדֹנָי יֱהוִה לֹא יַצִּילוּ בָנִים
6. With noun, Jer. 18:17, עֹרֶף וְלֹא־פָנִים אֶרְאֵם
7. " " in nominal sentence, Gen. 42:34, כִּי לֹא מְרַגְּלִים אַתֶּם
8. " " negating a quality, 2 Chron. 13:9, "that which is a no-god," = noun in construct, וְהָיָה כֹּהֵן לְלֹא אֱלֹהִים
9. With adjective, Ex. 22:15, בְּחוּלָה אֲשֶׁר לֹא אֹרָשָׂה
10. " " phrase, Gen. 15:13, בְּאֶרֶץ לֹא לָהֶם
11. With adverb, Gen. 48:18, וַיֹּאמֶר יוֹסֵף . . . לֹא־כֵן אָבִי
12. " " phrase, Ex. 3:19, וְלֹא בְיָד חֲזָקָה
13. With noun as jussive = אַל, Prov. 27:2, יְהַלֶּלְךָ זָר וְלֹא פִיךָ נָכְרִי וְאַל שְׂפָתֶיךָ
14. Independent = *nay!* Gen. 19:2 (kethibh), וַיֹּאמְרוּ לֹא כִּי בָרְחוֹב נָלִין
15. With sentence, Ezek. 18:29, הֲלֹא דְרָכַיכֶם לֹא יִתָּכֵנוּ
16. After preposition בְּ with (*a*) noun = *without*, Jer. 22:13, הוֹי בֹּנֶה בֵיתוֹ בְלֹא־צֶדֶק
" " " " (*b*) verb imperf., Lam. 4:14, בְּלֹא יוּכְלוּ יִגְּעוּ בִלְבֻשֵׁיהֶם
" " " " (*c*) verb. infin., Num. 35:23, בְּכָל אֶבֶן אֲשֶׁר יָמוּת בָּהּ בְּלֹא רְאוֹת

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After preposition בְּ with (*d*) prep. and noun, Isa. 55:2, בְּלוֹא לְשָׂבְעָה
" " " " (*e*) adv. phrase, 2 Chron. 30:18,
אָכְלוּ אֶת־הַפֶּסַח בְּלֹא כַכָּתוּב

17. After preposition לְ with (*a*) finite perf., Isa. 65:1,
בִּמְצֵאתִי לְלֹא בִקְשֻׁנִי
" " " " (*b*) adj. phrase, Job 39:16,
הִקְשִׁיחַ בָּנֶיהָ לְלֹא־לָהּ

18. After preposition עַל with finite perf., Ps. 119:136,
פַּלְגֵי מַיִם יָרְדוּ עֵינָי עַל לֹא־שָׁמְרוּ תוֹרָתֶךָ

19. After preposition כְּ with finite perf., Obad. 16, וְהָיוּ כְלוֹא הָיוּ

20. After preposition לְמַעַן = פֶּן, Ps. 119:80, לְמַעַן לֹא אֵבוֹשׁ

21. Followed by לְ with infin. = οὐκ ἔστι, Amos 6:10,
הָס כִּי לֹא לְהַזְכִּיר בְּשֵׁם יְהוָֹה

22. With יֵשׁ = Arab. لَيْسَ, Job 9:33, לֹא יֵשׁ בֵּינֵינוּ מוֹכִיחַ

23. " אִם = *assuredly*, Gen. 24:38, אִם־לֹא אֶל־בֵּית־אָבִי תֵּלֵךְ

24. " הַ־ independent = Germ. *nicht wahr?* Judg. 14:15,
הַלְיָרְשֵׁנוּ קְרָאתֶם לָנוּ הֲלֹא

אַל

1. Deprecation, finite imperf., Gen. 13:8,
אַל־נָה תְּהִי מְרִיבָה בֵּינִי וּבֵינֶךָ

2. " nominal sentence, 2 Sam. 1:21,
הָרֵי בַגִּלְבֹּעַ אַל־טַל וְאַל מָטָר עֲלֵיכֶם

3. Nominal sentence declarative, Prov. 12:28,
בְּאֹרַח צְדָקָה הַיִּים וְדֶרֶךְ נְתִיבָה אַל־מָוֶת

4. As substantive, Job 24:25, מִי יַכְזִיבֵנִי וְיָשֵׂם לְאַל מִלָּתִי

5. Independent = *nay!* Gen. 19:18, וַיֹּאמֶר לוֹט אֲלֵהֶם אַל־נָא אֲדֹנָי

אין.

1. Construct state with noun, Gen. 37:29, אֵין יוֹסֵף בַּבּוֹר

2. " " " pronoun, Gen. 28:17, אֵין זֶה כִּי אִם בֵּית אֱלֹהִים

3. " " " suffix, Gen. 37:30, הַיֶּלֶד אֵינֶנּוּ

4. " " " " before participle = copula, Gen. 20:7,
וְאִם אֵינְךָ מֵשִׁיב

5. " " " adj. phrase, Ex. 8:6, אֵין כַּיְהוָֹה אֱלֹהֵינוּ

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6. Construct state with noun and governed by מִן, Isa. 6:11, מֵאֵין אָדָם
7. " " " inf. and governed by מִן, Mal. 2:13, מֵאֵין עוֹד פְּנוֹת
8. " " " adj. phrase and governed by מִן, Jer. 10:6, מֵאֵין כָּמוֹךָ
9. " " " noun and governed by בְּ, Ezek. 38:11, בְּאֵין חוֹמָה
10. " " " " " " " " לְ, Isa. 40:29, וּלְאֵין אוֹנִים עָצְמָה יַרְבֶּה
11. " " " participle and governed by לְ, Neh. 8:10, וְשִׁלְחוּ מָנוֹת לְאֵין נָכוֹן לוֹ
12. " " " noun and strengthened by עוֹד, Isa. 23:10, אֵין מֵזַח עוֹד
13. " " " noun separated by עוֹד, Jer. 49:7, הַאֵין עוֹד חָכְמָה בְּתֵימָן
14. " " " infin. with לְ = οὐκ ἔστι, Eccles. 3:14, עָלָיו אֵין לְהוֹסִיף וּמִמֶּנּוּ אֵין לִגְרֹעַ
15. " " " adv. phrase or obj. acc.(?), Hag. 2:17, וְאֵין אֶתְכֶם אֵלַי
16. " " " יֵשׁ pleonastic, Ps. 135:17, אֵין יֵשׁ רוּחַ בְּפִיהֶם
17. " " " noun and after בִּלְעֲדֵי pleonastic, 2 Kgs. 1:3, הֲמִבְּלִי אֵין אֱלֹהִים בְּיִשְׂרָאֵל
18. " " between partic. noun and its object, Gen. 40:8, חֲלוֹם חָלַמְנוּ וּפֹתֵר אֵין אֹתוֹ
19. " " " noun and adv. phrase = copula, Gen. 19:31, וְאִישׁ אֵין בָּאָרֶץ
20. Absolute state between noun and adv. phrase, 2 Kgs. 19:3, וְכֹחַ אַיִן לְלֶדֶת
21. " " after noun, Lev. 26:37, וְרֹדֵם אַיִן
22. " " independent, 1 Kgs. 18:10, וְאָמְרוּ אָיִן
23. " " after preposition = substantive; — with לְ, Isa. 40:23, הַנּוֹתֵן רוֹזְנִים לְאַיִן
24. " " " " = substantive; — with כְּ, Hag. 2:3, הֲלוֹא כָמֹהוּ כְּאַיִן בְּעֵינֵיכֶם
25. " " " " = adv. phrase = *almost*, Ps. 73:2, רַגְלַי כְּאַיִן שָׁפְכָה

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26. Absolute state after preposition = subst.; — with מִן, Isa. 41:24,
הֵן אַתֶּם מֵאַיִן וּפָעֳלְכֶם מֵאָפַע

27. " " " " and followed by adj. phrase, Jer. 30:7 (but *cf.* Jer. 10:6, note 8 above),
גָּדוֹל הַיּוֹם הַהוּא מֵאַיִן כָּמֹהוּ

28. Absolute state with verb perfect = לֹא, Job 35:15,
וְעַתָּה כִּי אַיִן פָּקַד אַפּוֹ וְלֹא־יָדַע בַּפַּשׁ

אִי

1. With noun, 1 Sam. 4:21, אִי כָבוֹד
2. " adjective, Job 22:30, אִי־נָקִי

בְּלִי

1. With noun = *without*, Isa. 28:8, בְּלִי מָקוֹם
2. " adjective, 2 Sam. 1:21, מָגֵן שָׁאוּל בְּלִי מָשִׁיחַ בַּשָּׁמֶן
3. " finite verb perfect, Gen. 31:20, עַל בְּלִי הִגִּיד לוֹ כִּי בֹרֵחַ הוּא
4. " " " imperf., Hos. 8:7, בְּלִי יַעֲשֶׂה־קֶמַח
5. In composition with noun, Judg. 19:22, בְּלִיַּעַל
6. " " " pronoun, Job 26:7, עַל בְּלִימָה
7. " " " preposition, with בְּ, Deut. 4:42,
יִרְצַח אֶת־רֵעֵהוּ בִּבְלִי־דַעַת
8. " " " " " לְ, Isa. 5:14,
וּפָעֲרָה פִּיהָ לִבְלִי־חֹק
9. " " " " " מִן with noun, Jer. 2:15,
מִבְּלִי יֹשֵׁב
10. " " " " " " " infin., Deut. 9:28,
מִבְּלִי יְכֹלֶת יְהוָה לַהֲבִיאָם אֶל הָאָרֶץ
11. " " " מִן with adj. phrase, Job 18:15,
תִּשְׁכֹּן בְּאָהֳלוֹ מִבְּלִי לוֹ
12. " " " מִן and with אֵין pleonastic, Ex. 14:11,
הֲמִבְּלִי אֵין־קְבָרִים בְּמִצְרַיִם
13. As substantive = *nothingness*, "the pit," Isa. 38:17,
וְאַתָּה חָשַׂקְתָּ נַפְשִׁי מִשַּׁחַת בְּלִי

בִּלְתִּי

1. With noun = *except*, Gen. 21:26, לֹא שָׁמַעְתִּי בִּלְתִּי הַיּוֹם
2. " adj. phrase = *only*, Num. 11:6, בִּלְתִּי אֶל־הַמָּן עֵינֵינוּ

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3. With pronom. suffix, 1 Sam. 2:2, כִּי אֵין בִּלְתֶּיךָ
4. " " " hidden, Hos. 13:4, "And deliverer there is none except me," וּמוֹשִׁיעַ אַיִן בִּלְתִּי
5. " אִם = *except*, Gen. 47:18, לֹא נְכַחֵד מֵאֲדֹנִי כִּי אִם־כָּלוּ כְסָפֵנוּ
6. " nominal sentence, Gen. 43:5, לֹא־תִרְאוּ פָנַי בִּלְתִּי אֲחִיכֶם אִתְּכֶם
7. Independent = *nay!* Dan. 11:18(?), בִּלְתִּי חֶרְפָּתוֹ יָשִׁיב לוֹ
8. With preposition עַד before finite verb perf., Num. 21:35, וַיַּכּוּ אֹתוֹ . . . עַד־בִּלְתִּי הִשְׁאִיר לוֹ שָׂרִיד
9. " " לְ before infin., Gen. 4:15, לְבִלְתִּי הַכּוֹת אֹתוֹ כָּל־מֹצְאוֹ
10. " " " " finite perf., Jer. 23:14, לְבִלְתִּי שָׁבוּ אִישׁ מֵרָעָתוֹ
11. " " " " " imperf., Ex. 20:20, לְבִלְתִּי תֶחֱטָאוּ
12. " " " " לְ and infin., 2 Kgs. 23:10, לְבִלְתִּי לְהַעֲבִיר אִישׁ אֶת־בְּנוֹ . . . בָּאֵשׁ
13. " " מִן " infin., Num. 14:16 (*cf.* under בְּלִי, No. 10, Deut. 9:28), מִבִּלְתִּי יְכֹלֶת יְהוָה לְהָבִיא אֶת־הָעָם

בַּל

1. With adjective, Prov. 24:23, בְּמַשְׁפָּט בַּל־טוֹב
2. " " phrase, Prov. 23:7, לִבּוֹ בַל־עִמָּךְ
3. " finite perfect, Isa. 26:10, יְחַן רָשָׁע בַּל לָמַד צֶדֶק
4. " " imperf., Isa. 26:10, וּבַל יִרְאֶה גֵּאוּת
5. " infinitive = פֶּן, Ps. 32:9, בַּל קְרֹב אֵלֶיךָ

בִּלְעֲדֵי

1. = *except*, Gen. 14:24, בִּלְעֲדֵי רַק אֲשֶׁר אָכְלוּ הַנְּעָרִים
2. = *not by me*, Gen. 41:16, בִּלְעָדַי אֱלֹהִים יַעֲנֶה אֶת־שְׁלוֹם פַּרְעֹה
3. With preposition מִן = *besides*, Josh. 22:19, בִּבְנוֹתְכֶם לָכֶם מִזְבֵּחַ מִבַּלְעֲדֵי מִזְבַּח יְהוָה אֱלֹהֵינוּ

טֶרֶם

1. With finite perf., Gen. 24:15, וְהִנֵּה־הוּא טֶרֶם כִּלָּה לְדַבֵּר
2. " " imperf., Ex. 9:30, יָדַעְתִּי כִּי טֶרֶם תִּירְאוּן מִפְּנֵי יְהוָה

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3. With finite imperf. for בְּטֶרֶם, Ex. 12:34,
וַיִּשָּׂא הָעָם אֶת־בְּצֵקוֹ טֶרֶם יֶחְמָץ
4. " preposition בְּ and followed by perfect, Ps. 90:2,
בְּטֶרֶם הָרִים יֻלָּדוּ
5. " " " " " " imperf., Gen. 27:4,
תְּבָרֶכְךָ נַפְשִׁי בְּטֶרֶם אָמוּת
6. " " " before noun, Isa. 17:14, בְּטֶרֶם בֹּקֶר אֵינֶנּוּ
7. " " " " infin., Zeph. 2:2,
בְּטֶרֶם לֵדֶת חק כְּמוֹץ עָבַר יוֹם
8. " " מִן before infin., Hag. 2:15,
מִטֶּרֶם שׂוֹם־אֶבֶן אֶל־אֶבֶן
9. " " בְּ and לֹא pleonastic, Zeph. 2:2,
בְּטֶרֶם לֹא יָבוֹא עֲלֵיכֶם חֲרוֹן

אֶפֶס

1. With noun = *only*, Num. 22:35,
וְאֶפֶס אֶת־הַדָּבָר אֲשֶׁר־אֲדַבֵּר אֵלֶיךָ אֹתוֹ תְדַבֵּר
2. " adjective = substantive, 2 Kgs. 14:26, אֶפֶס עָצוּר וְאֶפֶס עָזוּב
3. " adverbial phrase, Isa. 54:15, גּוֹר יָגוּר אֶפֶס מֵאוֹתִי
4. " pronominal suffix, Isa. 47:10, אֲנִי וְאַפְסִי עוֹד
5. " כִּי as conjunction = *but, except that*, Deut. 15:4,
אֶפֶס כִּי לֹא יִהְיֶה
6. " preposition מִן = substantive, Isa. 40:17, מֵאֶפֶס וְתֹהוּ
7. " " בְּ = substantive, Prov. 14:28,
וּבְאֶפֶס לְאוֹם מְחִתַּת רָזוֹן
8. As verb, Gen. 47:15, כִּי אָפֵס כָּסֶף

פֶּן

1. With perfect, clause of possibility, 2 Kgs. 2:16,
וִיבַקְשׁוּ אֶת־אֲדֹנֶיךָ פֶּן נְשָׂאוֹ רוּחַ יְהוָה
2. " imperf., of caution, Gen. 3:22, פֶּן יִשְׁלַח יָדוֹ
3. " " of adjuration = אִם, Judg. 15:12,
הִשָּׁבְעוּ לִי פֶּן תִּפְגְּעוּן בִּי אַתֶּם
4. " " of mild prohibition = אַל, Jer. 51:46, וּפֶן יֵרַךְ לְבַבְכֶם
5. " omission of verb, Prov. 25:8,
אַל תֵּצֵא לָרִב מַהֵר פֶּן מַה־תַּעֲשֶׂה בְּאַחֲרִיתָהּ

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זוּלַת

1. With noun = *only*, Deut. 4:12, וּתְמוּנָה אֵינְכֶם רֹאִים זוּלָתִי קוֹל
2. " pronominal suffix = *except*, 1 Sam. 21:10, כִּי אֵין אַחֶרֶת זוּלָתָהּ בַּזֶּה

אִם

1. In asseveration with imperfect, Gen. 42:15, חֵי פַּרְעֹה אִם־תֵּצְאוּ מִזֶּה
2. " " " nouns, Ezek. 14:16, חַי אֲנִי נְאֻם אֲדֹנָי יֱהוִה אִם־בָּנִים וְאִם־בָּנוֹת יַצִּילוּ
3. " " after חָלִילָה, imperf., Job 27:5, חָלִילָה לִי אִם אַצְדִּיק אֶתְכֶם
4. " adjuration, imperf., Cant. 2:7, הִשְׁבַּעְתִּי אֶתְכֶם . . . אִם תָּעִיר . . . אֶת־הָאַהֲבָה

מָה

In adjuration, imperf., Cant. 8:4 (*cf.* under אִם, No. 4 above), הִשְׁבַּעְתִּי אֶתְכֶם . . . מַה־תָּעִירוּ . . . אֶת־הָאַהֲבָה

Contributed Notes.

ANOTHER HAGGADIC ELEMENT IN THE SEPTUAGINT.

Amos 1:11 וְשִׁחֵת רַחֲמָיו LXX. καὶ ἐλυμήνατο μητρὰν (so AQ; B has μητέρα) ἐπὶ γῆς finds a partial (what does ἐπὶ γῆς mean?) explanation in the following note in Norzi's commentary: בְּמִדְרַשׁ יְלַמְּדֵנוּ פָּרָשַׁת כִּי־תֵצֵא כְּשֶׁיִּצָּא מִמֵּעֵי אִמּוֹ חָתוּךְ מִיתְרִין שֶׁלּוֹ (פֵּרוּשׁ: הָאֵם שֶׁלּוֹ, וּבְלַעַז בידריצ'י) שֶׁלֹּא תֵלֵד. הָדָא הוּא דִכְתִיב וְשִׁחֵת רַחֲמָיו רִהֲמוֹ כְּתִיב עַד־כָּאן. וְאֵין כֵּן בִּסְפָרִים שֶׁלָּנוּ.

MAX L. MARGOLIS.

FERRYSBURG, MICHIGAN,
July 11, 1896.

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Book Notices.

KOSTERS' WIEDERHERSTELLUNG ISRAELS.*

Kosters' proposition is that the three chief events constituting the restoration of Israel in the Persian period occurred in the order: The building of the temple, the repair of the city wall, the return of the *Gôla* from Babylon. He finds that the temple was begun under Darius, and was built, not by returned exiles, but by Palestinian Jews who had not been in captivity; likewise that the repair of the city wall was accomplished by Nehemiah and his company, with the assistance of residents of Jerusalem, but without help from any exiles commonly supposed to have preceded him from Babylon; and that after the completion of the walls occurred, in order, the events of Nehemiah, ch. 13; Ezra, chs. 7–10; Nehemiah, chs. 9 and 10 (the constitution of the new community), and Nehemiah, ch. 8. The order of his discussion corresponds with the chronological sequence.

He adopts without modification Schrader's proofs of the late date of the commencement of the temple building, pausing only to reassert, as against Van Hoonacker, the value in support of this theory of Hag. 2:18, and Zech. 8:9, 10. This view assumes of course the unhistorical character of Ezra 3:8–13.

From this point the argument moves rapidly, to say the least. Kosters rejects Ezra 3:1–7, because it is extremely unlikely that sacrifices had been suspended in Jerusalem during the exile, and because the offerings made are represented to be in accord with P, not yet adopted. He decides that ch. 4 is so inseparably connected with 3:8–13 that our conclusion about the latter involves ch. 4 in the same judgment. In a footnote he denies it even the partial credibility accorded it by Kuenen and Schrader. Ch. 1, he continues, is involved in the same adverse judgment; for such an edict of Cyrus the Jews would not venture to disregard, and besides, the edict is the kernel of the whole chapter as a literary product. The edict being unhistorical, the remainder is valueless as a witness to an early return of exiles, and this must be proven entirely apart from ch. 1.

Who then were the Jews who built the temple? Was there in Jerusalem even in the first years of Darius a company of returned exiles? Kosters finds in Haggai and Zechariah no reference to such, and he is

*Die Wiederherstellung Israels in der Persischen Periode. Eine Studie von Prof. Dr. W. H. Kosters-Leiden. Mit Genehmigung des Verfassers übersetzt von A. Basedow. Heidelberg: *Verlag von J. Hörning, 1895.*

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positive that some mention would have been made of the fact of 40,000 captives having returned to the city but a few years before. These prophets designate the people by the same names as are employed by Jeremiah for those left in Jerusalem after its capture. They do not call them Israel, as Ezra does upon his return with the Gôlâ. Moreover they speak of their own times as a period of continuing punishment, and look forward to some change in the near future similar to the return as predicted by the earlier prophets.

Kosters now returns to Ezra, chs. 5 and 6. These chapters he analyzes into two documents on the basis of the discrepant statements as to the date of the beginning of the temple, and as to the place where the decree of Cyrus was sought and found, and the confusion between the quoted decree of Cyrus and that of Darius. One document (5:1–5, 6–10; 6:6–15, except minor redactional phrases) correctly gives the date of the temple building, but is otherwise not entirely trustworthy, even after rejecting redactional notes. The second document (5:11–17; 6:1; 3–5) is a tendency composition ascribing the glory of the new enterprise to Cyrus, but knowing nothing of a Gôlâ returning in Cyrus' time, or of an interruption of the work as stated in ch. 4. The Chronicler's view of matters is a natural evolution from this second document. The reader will notice, in passing, the necessary assumption of the same tendency in the source as is ascribed to the Chronicler, the explanation being, of course, far less easy to find.

The list of "the children of the province that went up out of the captivity" (Ezra, ch. 2; Nehemiah, ch. 7) is next examined. As it stands it is a clear witness to the early return. It has come into Ezra from Nehemiah as the succeeding context shows; but even there it is not original, for Ezra could not use and would not insert "the book of the genealogy of them which came up at the first." We venture to ask if the Chronicler is not outdoing himself in inserting a list that is entirely inappropriate and prefacing it by a statement that fits neither context nor list and is, by the way, a direct falsehood.

The title calls for a list, not of exiles who had returned, but of inhabitants of the province who had been exiles. The distinction between them and inhabitants who had not been in captivity is most naturally made after the organization of the community. Kosters holds, moreover, that the basis of inclusion in the list is not return from Babylon in spite of the statement, but the possession of unmixed genealogy. The passage further betrays itself by representing as contemporaneous, men and movements which are, in fact, extended over a long interval. The Chronicler's statement, entirely unsupported, that Zerubbabel and Joshua were of the captivity, is contrary to the strong evidence from the prophets.

The second chapter concerns the repair of the wall. What is the evidence that Ezra's company was present at the time? In the (trust-

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worthy) section of Nehemiah's memoirs preserved in Neh. 1–7:5, there is no reference to the presence of returned exiles. The inquiry and answer in 1:2, 3 concern those who had been left behind in Jerusalem at the captivity. This, by the way, would require a rather unusual force for the Hebrew phrase. The interpretation is favored by the tenor of the prayer (5–11), which implies no recent alteration in exilic conditions. The redemption of 5–8 was of the poor in Judea. The list of repairers (Nehemiah, ch. 3) contains only a few names identical with names in Ezra's company, and the men who bear these names can be identical in only one case, viz., that of Meshullam; but Meshullam was a common name, and its occurrence in the two lists does not prove the men to be one and the same. It is now improbable that not one of such a company as is described in Ezra, ch. 8, should be among the repairers of the wall if they were in Jerusalem at the time. The statement of Neh. 12:36, that Ezra was present at the dedication of the walls is proven to Kosters by the supplementary manner of its insertion to be the work of the Chronicler and therefore valueless. Nehemiah, as Haggai and Zechariah, never calls the people Israel.

The whole narrative of the destruction of the wall (Ezra 4:6–23) is rejected because the colonization claimed is poorly vouched, the writer misunderstood the value of the term Apharsathchites (*cf.* 5:6; 6:6), the correspondence resembles too strongly that of chs. 5 and 6, it is improbable that there was any book such as is cited in 4:15, and it is unlikely that an enterprise so arduous and novel as Nehemiah's is represented to have been could have been accomplished so short a time before him.

In the narratives of the events which followed the building of the wall our author finds serious disorder. The organization of the new community is the center of interest, and this is recorded in Nehemiah, chs. 9 and 10, although the Chronicler has given in Ezra 6:21, what he would have understood as that event. Neh. 13 makes no mention of these occurrences, assuming neither the enforcement nor the non-enforcement of the obligations then assumed; on the other hand the conditions and provisions of ch. 13 seem naturally to precede chs. 9 and 10. The formation of the community, however, preceded the promulgation of the priestly legislation, ch. 8, for the proceedings of chs. 9 and 10 are either definitely in accord with the earlier codes, or stand logically between them and P, or, in the case of the titles, are like P in this particular, the outgrowth of the recent experiences of the community. But if ch. 8 was after chs. 9 and 10 it goes without saying that ch. 7 (*cf.* above) also belongs after them. The Chronicler has removed the list of the "chiefs of the province that dwelt in Jerusalem" now in ch. 9 from its original position after 7:5, and given its place to the later list. From a minute analysis of 12:1–26 Kosters concludes that the origin of the priestly families dates from the time of Darius, not Cyrus; that ch. 7

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including, as it does, two of these families, cannot be referred to the earlier date, and that verse 26 preserves in the order Nehemiah-Ezra, a reminiscence of the real sequence.

Ezra, chs. 7–10, follows Nehemiah, ch. 13, but precedes Nehemiah, chs. 9–10, for it gives the occasion of the organization into a community, Ezra's Gôlâ forming the nucleus.

In venturing a criticism of this monograph, we propose to confine ourselves to the general method employed rather than to descend into details.

1. At the outset there arises of necessity the question of the credibility of the Chronicler, denied absolutely by Kosters. Every sort of motive is assigned to him except a willingness to conform to facts as stated by his authorities. This part of the hypothesis is likely to prove very popular with Old Testament scholars in these days. And yet a word or two may be said in behalf even of the Chronicler. The degree of credence to be accorded to the Chronicler in the case of unverifiable statements depends upon the ratio existing between his statements proven true and those proven false. Naturally the task before him was largely a criticism of his authorities. It is clear that he often departs from them, and, it cannot be denied, many times to his discredit; but what of the instances when we know he follows his authorities? Shall he have no credit for so doing? He certainly deserves it in proportion to their trustworthiness, and in departing from them he deserves blame only in the same proportion.

If written documents were accessible to him, there is the same probability that he followed those which are now lost as that he followed those now extant with which we can test his statements. There is no greater probability that he falsifies in the face of authorities or invents when all sources are lacking, in matters where we cannot detect him than in matters known to us from other narratives. Now in particular instances upon which we must pass judgment, it may be that we are not warranted in placing absolute reliance upon the Chronicler's unsupported statements; but it still remains true that there is a chance, and by no means a small chance, that he is correct. If his statement cannot carry certainty with it, neither, on the other hand, can certainty be reached against it in any other way than by disproving it with as much care as if it were that of an ordinarily credible witness. Such care Kosters does not take in his treatment of the Chronicler.

2. Before he lays down his pen our author has subjected the whole book, Ezra-Nehemiah, to a searching analysis. Introducing this really introductory matter *passim* in the body of his discussion, he by that very fact gives the impression, which is borne out by individual instances, that the analysis is conducted in the interest of his theory. He does not distinguish between his theory as an assumed basis for literary criticism, and his theory as based on and necessarily growing

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out of his sources previously and independently rectified by an impartial critical analysis. The treatment of Neh. 12:27–43 well illustrates the fault.

3. The importance of the fairest and most generous treatment of these critical questions is obvious as soon as it is appreciated to what an extent the argument is from silence. The force of the discussion is largely broken by the impression, easily gained, that positive witness is being lightly tossed aside on the strength of a questionable analysis. For example the testimony of Ezra, ch. 1, is set aside by about three-fourths of a page of very general remark; and yet Kosters' proof that no exiles returned under Cyrus is that they are not referred to. He fails to treat his subject matter with sufficient seriousness at points which are in fact critical for him.

4. The criticism already made passes easily into the complaint of Wellhausen that there is a lack of independent concurrent testimony. There is a constant increase of doubt as one reads. Equally deft handling of the narratives might lead to any one of several theories of historical sequence. The inevitableness of this particular inference does not appear, notwithstanding the assertions of the author made, naturally enough perhaps, at especially weak points.

5. Kosters fails to note and to take into account the fragmentary character of the records of the period. His task is in part surmising what the missing documents would reveal. This fragmentary nature of the records operates to increase the possibility that Kosters has hit upon the truth, but at the same time it increases the possibility that some other theory is the correct one; meanwhile it becomes less and less easy to prove the extant records wrong. The treatment which the social and religious problems of the period received cannot be followed lucidly in the fragmentary narratives now in our hands; there are long stretches of time that are dark to us which may have made important contributions to the solution of those problems. It was a time of confusion and of clashing of interests, both religious and political. It is scarcely to be expected that the logical order of events will always have been followed. It is conceivable that the prophets do not allude to returned exiles because they were few in number, or lacking zeal for Jehovah, or mere adventurers; perhaps Haggai does include them, only not by name, in 1:4 *sqq*. In like manner it is easy to account for Nehemiah's silence as to Ezra and his work, without reversing the order of the two men and without adopting any view more radical than that. It is by no means inconceivable that Ezra's company could have been in Jerusalem without being mentioned as builders on the wall.

6. Literary Criticism seems to be a useful and handy creature, but there is a little danger that for that very reason he will be overworked. Fortunately it is rare yet to find a theory of history based so absolutely upon the results of literary analysis. Kosters' use of Ezra, chs. 5 and

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6, is strange, to say the least. He entitles the section, "Testimony of the sources used by the Chronicler in Ezra, chs. 5 and 6," and then for the first time proceeds to the analysis. He finds two documents, one directly favoring him, the other indirectly, by showing an earlier stage of the Chronicler's false view. This source ascribes the building of the temple to Cyrus; but Kosters did not once allude to the existence of such a source in his discussion of Ezra, ch. 1.

7. The purpose assigned to the Chronicler in falsifying his authorities is to show the fulfilment of the prophecies of the return of the exiles and of the service rendered by Cyrus. But the interpretation of the predictions in accordance with which exiles were to take the initiative in the restoration and Cyrus was to play an important part, could not have sprung up after the restoration had been accomplished on a different plan, and events had occurred which made such a fulfilment impossible. The Chronicler was not the only one to be impressed with those predictions; they were before Israel during the captivity, and it is strange if their actions were not moulded according to them. We should expect that an effort would be made to carry out the prophets' programme, especially as it was not at all an unnatural one. If it was tried and failed we might expect some word to that effect and some change of policy announced by the prophets. In his preface Kosters draws attention to the marvelous transformation wrought in Jerusalem in the Persian period. His theory leaves the change unaccounted for. An influx of new life from Babylon was needed and was expected, and to us Kosters does not seem to have proved that it was not received. It is not at all necessary to assume, with him, that the arrival of the exiles will be witnessed by the use of the name Israel. In general, Israel was the name of an organized body, not of certain individuals; but even so, its use might vary widely in different writers.

While the author's main thesis does not appear proven, he deserves thanks for drawing our attention to the comparative unimportance of any early returns that may have occurred. He has made it probable that the Chronicler has overestimated their importance. We may suppose that not a few bands, of various sizes and degrees of organization, took advantage of the confusion of Babylon to return to Palestine; that they were absorbed in the population which they found there, and only upon the arrival of the large, organized bands under Ezra and Nehemiah was there energy enough for the great undertakings of the Restoration.

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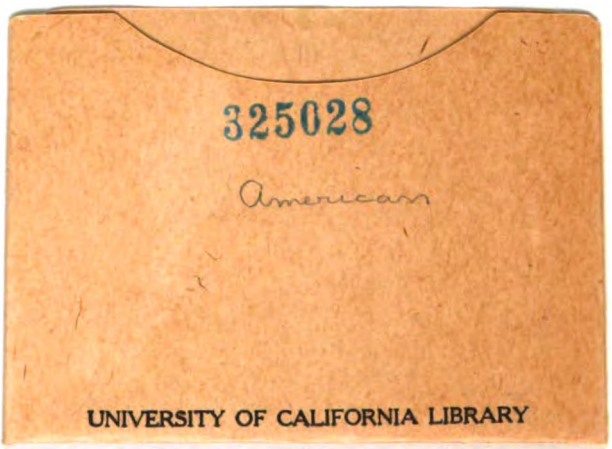

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